

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

JEROME KERN DAY
RESOLUTION

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 5, 1984

● Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing, along with a number of my colleagues, a House joint resolution to declare January 27, 1985 as "National Jerome Kern Day." This date will mark the 100th anniversary of Jerome Kern's birth.

Jerome Kern is internationally recognized as one of Broadway's greatest composers. In many circles he is considered "the father of American musical theater." As is indicated in our resolution, Kern composed over 1,000 songs and 108 complete theatrical scores. Kern reached the height of his career with the production of his most popular score, "Show Boat." That score contained such popular songs as "Make Believe," "Why Do I Love You," and "Ol' Man River."

Kern is also credited with composing such great musical standards as "Lovely To Look At," "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes," and "Look for the Silver Lining."

When Jerome Kern died at the age of 60 on November 11, 1945, President Harry Truman spoke for the Nation at the time when he wrote that:

I am among the grateful who have played and listened to the music of Jerome Kern, and I wish to be among those of his fellow Americans who pay him tribute today. His melodies will live in our voices and warm our hearts for many years to come, for they are the kind of simple, honest songs that belong to no time or fashion. The man who gave them to us earned a lasting place in his nation's memory.

As we are still entertained by Kern's music, these words hold true today. The music industry is planning a centennial yearlong tribute to Jerome Kern which will include the staging of productions in New York and Washington, DC, featuring the composer's works, the airing of movies featuring Kern's scores, and the presentation of a Songwriters' Hall of Fame tribute.

I would hope that Congress would join in the celebration of Jerome Kern's life which has enhanced the esthetic quality of all our lives. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this worthwhile resolution.●

MANAGING THE NEXT DECADE
IN THE ECONOMY

HON. BOB EDGAR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. EDGAR. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Economic Committee, the Small Business Subcommittee on General Oversight and the Economy, and the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future sponsored a creative conference on "The New Economy." One of the speakers, Jay W. Forrester, Germeshansen professor of management of the Sloan School of Management at MIT made an important statement on managing the future economy. I share his comments for your careful consideration as we seek to help shape the future.

The statement follows:

MANAGING THE NEXT DECADE IN THE ECONOMY
(By Jay W. Forrester)

The theme of today's conference is "The New Economy." We are indeed moving toward a new economy. But the form of that new economy will not become clear until about 1995. In the meantime, we will be busy extracting ourselves from the old economy and laying foundations for the new.

To understand more clearly present economic conditions, one should consider the overlapping effects of two different processes that are at work in the economy. First, is the ordinary business cycle fluctuation that runs some three to seven years between peaks. Second, is the economic long wave, which is also called the Kondratieff cycle. The economic long wave is a major rise and fall of economic activity that spans 45 to 60 years between peaks. It is a much larger and more important disturbance than the business cycle.

1. THE ECONOMIC LONG WAVE

You are all familiar with business cycles. But perhaps I should review the behavior of the economic long wave. The long wave consists of rising economic activity for two or three decades, then a broad peak some ten years wide, and then a major depression that can persist for a decade. After the depression, another long-term recovery starts. Literature on the economic long wave is filled with debate and conflicting assertions. Economic evidence has been interpreted differently by different observers. Because no theory of the long wave has existed to show how the many aspects of reality could fit into a unified pattern, controversy was unavoidable.

Some of us at M.I.T. have been drawn into considering the economic long wave through our work on the System Dynamics National Model. The National Model differs substantially from the more familiar econometric models. The National Model is built up from the operating policies within corpo-

rations and government, rather than from macroeconomic theory. It is derived from management policies as observed in the practical, working world, rather than from statistical time series representing aggregate economic behavior. Without using external inputs from historical time series, the National Model generates, from interactions within its internal policies, the same patterns of change that have been observed in real life. The Model exhibits short-term business cycles of 3-to-7-years duration. It shows Kuznets, or construction cycles, of fifteen to twenty-five years in length. Under the appropriate circumstances, it manifests stagflation and reveals the cause of simultaneously rising unemployment and inflation. Also, from the interactions within the private sector and between the private sector and government, the National Model produces an economic long wave, or Kondratieff cycle, of 45 to 60 years between peaks. The National Model provides for the first time a cohesive theory to explain how a major rising and falling economic pattern spanning a half century can be systematically and internally created within an economy.

The long wave is an alternating over and under accumulation of capital plant. In Western industrial economies, capital investment has been concentrated in periods of economic excitement lasting about three decades. Such periods of aggressive new construction have been interrupted by major depressions occurring in the 1820s, 1890s, and 1930s. Now, after the expansion of the last several decades, we are probably entering another such economic downturn.

Along with overbuilding of capital plant go rising prices, falling productivity, speculation in physical assets, rising unemployment, and accumulating debts. At the end of the expansion, major imbalances have developed in the economy. Capital plant is overbuilt so that new investment is no longer justified until the old plant has been depreciated and worn out. People in the capital-producing sectors have completed their task of rebuilding the economy and must search for work elsewhere. Debts, which were taken on during expansion with the expectation of rising prices and profits, become burdensome when profits decline and interest rates remain high. Banks must write off uncollectible loans. Speculatively elevated land prices must readjust downward to come into balance with salaries and wages.

2. IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC LONG WAVE

The interaction of these two economic fluctuations—the business cycle and the long wave—are far more important to understanding current economic conditions than are either economic ideology or changes in political parties. Current economic difficulties have been developing steadily for twenty years, regardless of changes in political parties. Similar economic problems now exist in most other countries, even those with very different political philosophies. New legislation is heatedly debated, but, when enacted, has little effect on rising unemployment and the growing

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

excess of manufacturing capacity that has been steadily developing for 20 years. Business goes its way little influenced by Reaganomics, monetarism, Keynesianism, or supply-side economics. Each is a partial theory of economic behavior with little leverage against present economic circumstances. Under the surface, I believe there is something going on that is much more fundamental than the political issues now monopolizing debate in government and the press.

Over the last 20 years, the amplitude of the short-term business cycle has been steadily increasing. The last several recessions have been progressively more severe. We believe that the growing variation of the business cycle is a natural consequence of approaching and going beyond the peak of the economic long wave. In the 1950s and 1960s business cycles were restrained on the down side by excess demand and on the up side by shortage of manufacturing capacity. As demand has now leveled off and capacity has continued to expand, those restraints have been removed. Without the boundaries imposed by pent-up demand and limited capacity, the business cycle peaks have become higher and the recessions deeper.

Business cycles are superimposed on the economic long wave. The center point of business-cycle fluctuation is carried up and down by the slow rise and fall of the economic long wave. To illustrate, one can think of the long wave as being like the rise and fall of tide in a harbor, on top of which business cycles are like the waves produced by wind. I believe that we are now past the economic high tide and that for the next decade the economic tide will be falling. Business-cycle recessions will become progressively deeper and each business-cycle peak will fall below the previous high.

One might wonder about the plausibility of a long downward move in economic activity while we are in an unexpectedly strong business cycle recovery. But the current recovery is consistent with the picture I have been describing. The business cycle can become larger when the economy moves beyond the long-wave peak. For a time, the short-term business-cycle recoveries can temporarily obscure a longer-term decline.

3. TRENDS FROM RECENT DECADES

To visualize the picture of business cycles superimposed on larger, slower changes from the long wave, consider six economic patterns of recent decades.

First, return on investment. For the last 20 years, return on investment for corporation has shown the ups and downs of business cycles superimposed on a continuing downward trend. The falling return is consistent with the growth of excess manufacturing capacity. Contrary to assumptions underlying recent legislative proposals, the country has too much manufacturing capacity, not too little. Policies to encourage investment are now ineffective because, in most industries, there is declining economic incentive to make new capital investment.

Second, productivity. Much concern has been expressed in politics and the press about the slowing of growth in productivity. But is such concern justified? Productivity had doubled since 1950. In the last several years, productivity has not been rising like it did, but why should that be cause for alarm? Productivity is now higher than ever before; it should support a higher standard of living than at any time in the past. And are the actions being taken to try to increase productivity reasonable? Government policy has tried to increase productivity by

encouraging more capital investment. But more capital plant will do little to increase productivity when labor is already oversupplied with plant capacity. Productivity is leveling out, not because capital plant is no longer rising, but because labor is already saturated with capital plant. At this stage in the economic long wave, more capital plant can do little to increase productivity.

Third, unemployment. Unemployment for the last 20 years shows a business-cycle fluctuation superimposed on a long-term upward trend that is being created by the long wave. Every peak of unemployment has been higher than the previous peak. Every low point in unemployment during business-cycle expansions has been higher than the previous low point. The present reduced level of unemployment is still above the last low point in 1979. The business-cycle fluctuations in unemployment are still being carried upward by the economic long wave. There was no change in the behavior of unemployment between the liberal monetary policy of the 1970s and the slightly more restrictive policy of the last few years. Political parties and Federal Reserve policy have had little influence. The behavior we have been observing during the last two decades is deeply imbedded in the economy and is more fundamental than anything that has been happening in Washington.

Fourth, government deficits. Government deficits have also been following a long-term trend independent of the political party in office. On the average, deficits have doubled in each four-year administration for the last five administrations.

Fifth, prices of agricultural land. For 35 years the price of farm land has been rising faster than the cost-of-living index. While the general price level has risen about threefold, the index of agricultural land prices has risen tenfold. For two decades land was seen as an inflation hedge, that is, its price was rising faster than inflation. People bought land to protect themselves against inflation, thus further driving up the price of land and creating still more incentive to buy land. Liberal monetary policies were holding interest rates artificially low so that the interest rate was much less than the inflation rate on land. By borrowing money to purchase land, the purchaser at the end of a year had more appreciation in land value than he had interest to pay. The borrowing itself created more money and therefore more inflation and, as a consequence, still more incentive to buy land. A liberal monetary policy fueled speculation in land values. But such a trend of land prices rising faster than the general price level cannot go on forever. In time the price of land rose until it was too far out of balance with other prices in the economy. The imbalance became so great that in some areas the interest payment on a land purchase was several times the agricultural rental value of the land. Excessive land price is now beginning to be corrected. The official price indices for agricultural land show declines of ten or fifteen percent, but in some areas, land is this year selling for half the prices that were paid three years ago. On mortgaged land, farmer's equity is being wiped out and foreclosures are approaching the levels of the 1930s. As we move further into the downturn phase of the economic long wave, I expect the price declines of agricultural land to become more rapid and widespread.

Sixth, real interest rate. Another indication of long-run forces in the economy can be seen in the behavior of real interest

rates. Real interest is the nominal bank interest minus the inflation rate. The National Model shows a relationship of real interest to the economic long wave that is strikingly like the real interest rate pattern that has been observed since 1930. The Model generates a fluctuation of real interest in which real interest becomes negative before a peak of the long wave, just as real interest did go negative in the 1970s. Immediately after a long-wave peak, the National Model produces a rapid rise in real interest, as has happened recently and as previously happened between 1930 and 1934. I believe that the present rising real interest rate should not be blamed on the current administration or on Paul Volcker and the Federal Reserve. Instead, present high real interest is part of the inherent dynamic of moving beyond the peak of long-wave expansion and into the downturn.

4. HAZARDS FOR THE NEXT DECADE

We are now in a major transition between the economic growth that followed World War II and the economic growth that will resume again in the 1990s. The transition is a time of readjustment and a time for correcting imbalances that have developed within the economy. The transition is a time of technological change when many of the old technologies are laid aside and new technologies are tested and accepted as a basis for the next expansion. The transition has historically been a time of economic depression, but the severity can certainly be made either better or worse depending on the wisdom of the economic policies that are adopted.

A depression period has traditionally started with a rapid deflation in the price of physical assets. In some parts of the economy, that has already been happening. Agricultural land prices are declining. Diamonds and gold have fallen by half from their peaks. Commodity prices have fallen. Housing prices were weak in the last recession and are subject to substantial correction in the future.

However, we believe that a physical depression, as indicated by high unemployment and underutilized capacity, can be accompanied by either deflation or inflation. Whether a country travels the traditional road of deflation or the less well understood path through runaway inflation depends on the action of government in controlling the money supply. Governments may increase money supply believing that more liberal money would reduce unemployment. But, under present circumstances, there will be little effect on employment or production from increase in money. If government attempts to buy its way out of economic stress by creating new money, there will be progressively accelerating inflation added to the unemployment. In Germany in the 1920s it has been reported that stores marked up prices four times a day in response to the changing foreign exchange quotations. As inflation accelerates, real economic activity grinds to a halt as more and more of everyone's time is devoted to coping with inflation itself.

If one must choose between a rapidly accelerating inflation or deflation, deflation would be preferable. It would run its course sooner and would lay a more solid foundation for rebuilding the industrial economies than would hyperinflation followed by calling in the money supply, reissuing currency, and starting the economy over again. We have not yet had time to use the System Dynamics National Model to search for poli-

cies that might find the narrow path between inflation and deflation. High priority should be given to avoiding both runaway inflation and a destructive deflationary spiral.

Even now, during a business-cycle recovery, high debts are becoming increasingly troublesome. In the next recession, debt loads will become far more burdensome. Foreign debts have so far received the most attention, but they will soon be joined at center stage by the U.S. Government debt, by mortgages on land, and by loans to weak industrial corporations.

Developing countries even now do not have sufficient margin in their balance of trade to make repayment of their debts likely. And, the next recession will reduce their financial solvency even further. Pressure to repay loans is already creating internal political forces that will lead to new governments that will feel no obligation to repay. The new governments of debtor countries will argue, with some justification, that the original loans were unwise on the part of the lender as well as the borrower, and that the lender was equally to blame. Eventually the only escape will be default. Loans subject to default equal more than the net worth of the entire American banking system. Reverberations from such defaults will shake the financial structure of the country and the world. Plans should now be made for how to handle such defaults to minimize the harm they could do.

But the United States Government is in much the same situation as the developing countries. U.S. Government deficits and debt are mounting rapidly. The pace of mounting debt will tend to accelerate in the next recession when tax revenues decline and demands for transfer payments go up. The U.S. Government is now borrowing money to pay the interest on past debt, just as are the developing countries. The interest added to principal raises next year's debt for which the interest payment will be still higher. Compounding interest into principal causes deficit and debt to explode. If we were to assume government revenues remain frozen at the present level and transfers and spending also frozen, with only interest payment growing, then, at present interest rates, the deficit will double each presidential term from the compounding effect alone. Such a runaway situation can only lead to some form of default on government debt. Unless deficits are immediately eliminated, there will probably be no turning back from default on U.S. debt. It is urgent that decisions be made now for a long-term resolution of the government debt question.

Banks will feel the full force of the coming economic storm. Banker's policies are at the center of the growing economic stresses. Even though most other economic actors have contributed to the economic difficulties of the next decade, the systems will become visible by way of the banking system. The public and Congress will apportion most of the blame to the banks. Just as in the 1930s, I expect that banks will be put back under severe regulations, the scope of their activities will be sharply narrowed, and their recently acquired freedom to operate outside their local geographical areas will be rescinded. It would be well to curtail this present last wave of excesses now running through the financial institutions and begin to return to conservative financial practices before action must be taken in an atmosphere of crisis.

5. HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

Although the bad news is that industrial economies seem to be headed for trouble, the good news lies in the paradox that our economies have never been stronger.

When, as at the present time, a peak in the long wave has been reached, industrial countries are capable of delivering a higher standard of living than ever before. More housing has already been constructed and is available. More labor is available. Ample production capacity exists to fill our needs better than at any time in the past. For 30 years industry has been building capital plant, thus increasing the output per worker. Productivity is now higher than ever before, even if it is no longer continuing to increase. How do we take advantage of the favorable position we have now achieved?

Social, political, and economic innovations are needed to reduce the hazards that lie ahead and to accentuate the strengths we now have. But can we be sure of choosing policies that will make the best of the situation? Too often, laws passed at times of crisis are either ineffective, counter-productive, or too late. Intuition and political compromise are not an adequate basis for dealing with the complexity of our economic system. But, there are now becoming available new and more powerful methods. One such is the System Dynamics National Model from which I have been drawing insights. It is now possible to handle more realistically how private-sector policies and governmental laws interact, and to achieve a much improved understanding of how the economy operates. If we are to cope in the best possible way with growing economic stresses, there should be a national priority for quickly achieving a much better understanding of economic behavior.

We should reexamine our national priorities. The internal economic threat to the country is now far greater than the external military threat. Even so, the country does not strive for economic understanding with the forcefulness and adequate funding that are established patterns for military research.

It is time that seeking a better understanding of economic behavior should receive attention in keeping with its importance. Several major projects should be established, each with the goal of reaching within three years an improved understanding of how to avoid those policies that would make matters worse, and how to find the few high-leverage policies that will build on existing national economic strengths. I believe this is possible. We have only to attack the economic problems with the same vigor and dedication that we now devote to military projects.

A bright new economy lies ahead, but it begins about a decade from now. There is a swamp of economic difficulties to cross before reaching the rising ground on the other side. Many choices can be made in moving from here to there. Those choices will affect how smoothly we make the transition from the old economy to the new economy. If we simply react to pressures as they arise, we will continue to be dominated by forces for which we are unprepared. On the other hand, by coming to a better understanding of how economic forces are being created, we can begin to shape a more desirable transition into the new economy.

ADDITIONAL READING

1. Forrester, Jay W., "Information Sources for Modeling the National Economy," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, vol. 75, no. 371, pp. 555-574, September 1980.

2. Forrester, Jay W., "More Productivity Will Not Solve Our Problems," *Business and Society Review*, no. 35, pp. 10-18, Fall 1980.

3. Forrester, Jay W., "An Alternative Approach to Economic Policy: Macrobehavior from Microstructure," *Economic Issues of the Eighties*, edited by Nake M. Kamrany and Richard H. Day, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, and London, 1979.

4. Forrester, Jay W., "Innovation and the Economic Long Wave," *Management Review of the American Management Association*, vol. 68, no. 6, pp. 16-24, June 1979.

5. Forrester, Jay W., "Growth Cycles," *De Economist*, Leiden, The Netherlands, vol. 125, no. 4, 525-543, 1977.

6. Forrester, Jay W., "Business Structure, Economic Cycles and National Policy," *Business Economics*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 13-24, January 1976.

7. Graham, Alan K., "Software Design: Breaking the Bottleneck," *IEEE Spectrum*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 43-50, March 1982.

8. Graham, Alan K. and Peter M. Senge, "A Long-Wave Hypothesis of Innovation, Technological Forecasting and Social Change," vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 283-311, August 1980.

9. Senge, Peter M., "The Economic Long Wave: A Survey of Evidence," *System Dynamics Group Working Paper D-3262-1*, Sloan School, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass., April 1982.

10. Senge, Peter M., "A Long-Wave Theory of Real Interest Rate Behavior," *System Dynamics Group Working Paper D-3470*, Sloan School, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass., October 1983.

11. Van Duijn, J. J., "The Long Wave in Economic Life," George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston, and Sydney, 1983. ●

MAGANA SPEAKS AT INAUGURATION

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the speech of outgoing Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana at the inauguration of Jose Napoleon Duarte as President of El Salvador.

President Magana displayed remarkable ability and courage in leading his country through 2 extremely difficult years of transition to democratic government. He is to be commended and respected for his tireless efforts to improve human rights, promote economic development and provide for a singularly impressive transition to a democratically elected government.

The speech follows:

MAGANA SPEAKS AT INAUGURATION

PA012323 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1630 GMT 1 Jun 84.

[Speech by outgoing President Alvaro Magana at the inauguration of new President Jose Napoleon Duarte at the Sports Palace in San Salvador—live].

[Excerpts] With this event to turn power over to the person elected by the people, the

presidential period which began on 2 May 1982 ends.

In the past 2 years the people have decided to create a vacuum around insurgents. In this process, the people have displayed an exemplary perseverance. We are thus witnessing the sustained effort of a people to govern themselves. The recent electoral campaign had only one winner: the people. These extraordinary people did not learn about democracy in recent events; they always understood it, felt it, and demanded it. The people's desire for democracy became evident in the positive attitudes of civilized military men, labor and management groups, nonconformist youths, and all those who feel that democracy is the only solution for our situation. There was no violence in any of the elections. For this reason, many went to the polls. Side by side the polarized individuals of our political sphere, together with the reflexive majority, marched in an orderly fashion and even with comradeship to the polls and voted with full responsibility. The people deserve the respect and gratitude of political leaders. The people did their part, and they did it well, extraordinarily well. Now they have the right to see promises kept.

The democratically elected rulers have the beautiful responsibility of making a reality of the concept that democracy is the government of the people and for the people. [applause] It is true that, exercising their basic rights, the children of our homeland are members of various economic, religious, professional, union, and political groups. It is also true that there is a common denominator among these sectors: nationality. All their members are Salvadorans, and the next democratic government should be made up of 5 million Salvadorans for 5 million Salvadorans. [applause] There is no room for the haughtiness of some and the arrogance of others. [applause]

There is no valid excuse for nurturing a suicidal division that would lead Salvadorans to chaos. It is time to reject intolerance, intransigence, and the lack of understanding. We must forget offenses and rancors and fulfill our main duty, which is maintaining national unity to build a better homeland. [applause]

Our limited democratic experience may lead us to misinterpret the most recent electoral campaigns, which were a display of radical and intransigent positions. However, we must not forget that in the recent past these same forces agreed to approve and advanced a Constitution which includes the fundamental principles of a pluralist, democratic, and modern state. [applause]

A responsible and civilized opposition cannot have as its goal the failure of rulers. [applause] Its responsibility is to adopt an attitude of constructive criticism and guidance to point to abuses of power and help to organize government activities for the benefit of all.

Our reflections on the behavior of the future administration and the opposition have a purpose: national unity. It is necessary, even if it is not a goal in itself. We call for adherence to democratic rules and the achievement of a national unity because it is the only way to face our difficult future. Only with national unity can we achieve economic recovery.

The human rights situation has also improved substantially, and there is reason to believe that their full respect may be accomplished in the near future. By stressing that at the end of May 1984 we are in a better condition than we were in early May 1982 I

don't mean to claim any credit. I only want to note that, thanks to national unity, democracy is stronger, human rights are constantly progressing, the economy is experiencing a real recovery, and our international image has improved.

At the end of my mandate I must express my profound gratitude for the personal and institutional collaboration I have enjoyed. I must thank these honorable representatives for their support for our bills. I thank my collaborators who, coming from different political sectors, placed the interest of all above the natural tendency of party interests. I want to express my recognition for their dedication and loyalty.

I have to devote a very important part of this message to the Salvadoran soldiers. Our Armed Forces are now much more professional, capable, and efficient in defending the lives of the inhabitants and the democratic way of life we have chosen. [applause] There has been significant institutional progress within the Armed Forces. Although it may be thought that the defensive military effort needs a strong arm to channel national energy toward the military sphere, the Armed Forces of my country have chosen democracy. [applause] They have sponsored this process with repeated calls for all to vote and this was accompanied by exemplary behavior showing respect for the people's will.

I received power from the Revolutionary Junta, and I am now turning it over to Jose Napoleon Duarte. [applause] I received power from the Revolutionary Junta, and I am now turning it over to Jose Napoleon Duarte [repeats himself and crowd interrupts him with applause] as the man chosen . . . [repeats himself again] I received power from the Revolutionary Junta and I am now turning it over to Jose Napoleon Duarte. [interrupted by prolonged, very enthusiastic applause] I am almost finished now . . . [applause] I received power from the Revolutionary Junta and I am turning it over to [applause] Jose Napoleon Duarte as the man undoubtedly chosen by his people. [prolonged applause]●

VOTING RECORD

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, it has become my practice from time to time to list my votes in the House of Representatives here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I strongly believe that the people of Arizona have a right to know where I stand on the issues decided by the House, and I have found that printing my record here is the best way to provide that information.

This is not an all-inclusive list. I have omitted noncontroversial votes such as quorum calls, motions to resolve into the Committee of the Whole House, and motions to approve the Journal of the previous day.

The descriptions are necessarily somewhat short, and I am sure that some of my constituents will have additional questions about the issues described here. So I invite them to write me for specifics, or to visit my district

office at 300 North Main in Tucson or 1419 North Third Street, Suite 103, in Phoenix.

The list is arranged as follows:

KEY

1. Official rollcall number;
2. Number of the bill or resolution;
3. Title of the bill or resolution;
4. A description of issue being voted on;
5. The date of the action;
6. My vote, in the form Y=yes, N=no, and NV=not voting;
7. The vote of the entire Arizona delegation, in the form (Yes-No-Not voting);
8. An indication whether the motion or amendment was passed or rejected; and
9. The total vote.

VOTING RECORD

401. H.R. 2655. Domestic Volunteer Service Act Amendments. Passage of the bill to reauthorize volunteer programs administered by ACTION for three years through fiscal 1986. Passed 312-30: Y(3-1-1), October 28, 1983.

402. H.R. 3222. State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. O'Brien, R-Ill., motion to order the previous question on the O'Brien motion to instruct conferees to insist on the House position that \$70.15 million of the funds in the bill be earmarked for juvenile justice programs. Motion rejected 123-182: Y(2-3-0), October 31, 1983.

403. H.R. 3222. State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Brown, R-Colo., amendment to the O'Brien, R-Ill., motion, to further instruct conferees to insist on the House position that not more than \$21.3 million of the funds in the bill be appropriated for the Endowment for Democracy, and that no endowment funds be given to any entity related to a U.S. political party or party official or employee. Adopted 234-103: N(4-1-0), October 31, 1983.

404. H.R. 2867. Hazardous Waste Control. Judiciary Committee amendment to strike provisions allowing the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to file civil actions in cases where the Justice Department fails to act within a specified time on EPA requests for litigation under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act. Adopted 215-165: N(3-2-0), October 31, 1983.

406. S. 448. Belle Fourche Project. Kazen, D-Texas, motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize \$42 million in appropriations for the rehabilitation of the Belle Fourche Reclamation Project in South Dakota. Motion agreed to 373-51: Y(5-0-0), November 1, 1983. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (283 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

407. H.J. Res. 402. War Powers Resolution. Zablocki, D-Wis., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to declare that the section of the War Powers Resolution (PL 93-148) requiring that the president withdraw U.S. troops from hostile situations within 60 days unless Congress grants an extension took effect as of October 25, 1983, with the introduction of U.S. armed forces onto the island of Grenada. Motion agreed to 403-23: Y(3-2-0), November 1, 1983. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (284 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

408. H.R. 4185. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Addabbo, D-N.Y., amendment to delete multi-year procurement funds for the B-1 bomber. Rejected 175-247: NV(1-3-1), November 1, 1983.

409. H.R. 4185. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Addabbo, D-N.Y., amendment to delete \$2.1 billion for procurement of 21 MX missiles. Rejected 208-217: Y(2-3-0), November 1, 1983.

411. H.R. 4185. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Long, D-Md., amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill for the deployment of U.S. armed forces participating in the multinational peace-keeping force in Lebanon after March 1, 1984. Rejected 153-274: Y(1-4-0), November 2, 1983.

412. H.R. 4185. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Edwards, R-Ala., motion that the Committee of the Whole rise and report the bill, as amended, to the House. Motion agreed to 233-195: N(4-1-0), November 2, 1983.

413. H.R. 4185. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Passage of the bill to appropriate \$247,318,091,000 for military programs of the Department of Defense in fiscal 1984. Passed 328-97: Y(5-0-0), November 2, 1983.

415. H.R. 1234. Auto Domestic Content Requirement. Coats, R-Ind., amendment to prohibit auto domestic content requirements from being enforced if they violate U.S. trade obligations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and would lead to retaliation by other countries. The amendment also would give U.S. federal courts the authority to resolve trade disputes arising under the bill. Rejected 178-232: N(3-2-0), November 3, 1983.

416. H.R. 1234. Auto Domestic Content Requirement. Pease, D-Ohio, amendment to the McNulty, D-Ariz., amendment, to impose a sunset provision on the domestic content bill. The provisions of the bill would lapse six years after date of enactment if the secretary of transportation certified that the U.S. auto industry no longer was injured by foreign car imports. The McNulty amendment would have simply terminated the bill's provisions on September 30, 1992. Adopted 214-196: N(0-5-0), November 3, 1983.

417. H.R. 1234. Auto Domestic Content Requirement. Passage of the bill to require fixed levels of U.S. labor and parts in automobiles sold in the United States by foreign car manufacturers. The bill would phase in domestic content levels beginning in 1985 and reaching maximum levels in 1987. Passed 219-199: Y(2-3-0), November 3, 1983.

418. H.R. 2867. Hazardous Waste Control. Hughes, D-N.J., amendment to the Judiciary Committee amendment, to direct the attorney general, upon request of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) administrator and upon a showing of need, to deputize qualified EPA employees as special deputy U.S. marshals for criminal investigations into violations of this act. The Judiciary Committee amendment would strike from the bill provisions authorizing EPA employees to carry firearms, serve warrants and subpoenas, administer oaths and make arrests. Adopted 292-125: Y(5-0-0), November 3, 1983.

419. H.R. 2867. Hazardous Waste Control. Levitas, D-Ga., amendment to require approval of a joint resolution by both houses of Congress and by the president before any final rule promulgated by the Environmental Protection Agency shall take effect pertaining to generators of small quantities of hazardous waste if such a rule will have an annual economic impact of at least \$100 million. Adopted 198-195: N(3-2-0), November 3, 1983.

420. H.R. 2867. Hazardous Waste Control. Levitas, D-Ga., amendment to require ap-

proval of a joint resolution by both houses of Congress and by the president before any final rule promulgated by the Environmental Protection Agency shall take effect pertaining to generators of small quantities of hazardous waste if such a rule will have an annual economic impact of at least \$100 million. Rejected 189-204: N(3-2-0), November 3, 1983.

422. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Adoption of the rule (H Res 355) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize a paid diversion program for dairy producers, a producer-financed dairy promotion program, reductions in the federal dairy price support and to retain an existing 50-cents per hundred pounds assessment on milk to help finance the diversion program, and to repeal a second 50-cent assessment. Adopted 319-3: NV(2-0-3), November 4 1983.

423. H.R. 2114. Maritime Programs Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize \$486,807,000 in fiscal 1984 for maritime programs of the Department of Transportation. Passed 281-35: NV(1-1-3), November 4, 1983.

425. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Adoption of the rule (H Res 362) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to provide temporary funding to government agencies whose regular appropriations bills had not been enacted. Adopted 233-169: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

426. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Long, D-Md., amendment as amended by Zablocki, D-Wis., to increase the bill's total for foreign aid. The Zablocki amendment provided fiscal 1984 authorization for foreign assistance programs. Adopted 262-150: Y(4-1-0), November 8, 1983.

427. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to appropriate \$145 million for the education of immigrant children. Adopted 208-203: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

428. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to appropriate \$43.4 million for construction of three engineering or computer facilities at three universities. Rejected 122-286: Y(1-4-0), November 8, 1983.

429. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to appropriate \$20 million for work-study programs under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Adopted 336-72: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

430. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to appropriate \$10 million for supplemental educational opportunity grants under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Adopted 328-78: Y(3-2-0), November 8, 1983.

431. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to appropriate \$20 million for community health centers. Adopted 267-141: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

432. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to appropriate \$75.4 million for job training programs. Adopted 257-150: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

433. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Portion of the Wright, D-Texas, amendment to postpone an administrative requirement—called monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting—that households receiving food stamps submit monthly reports on income and other fac-

tors affecting eligibility. Adopted 210-201: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

434. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Wright, D-Texas, amendment to increase funding in the bill by approximately \$955 million for an assortment of programs, most of them concerning education. Adopted 254-155: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

435. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Conte, R-Mass., motion to recommit the joint resolution to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to remove all the amendments that had been added by the House. Motion rejected 166-244: N(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

436. H.J. Res. 403. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Passage of the joint resolution to make further continuing appropriations for government agencies for fiscal 1984. Rejected 203-206: Y(2-3-0), November 8, 1983.

438. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Harkin, D-Iowa, amendment to authorize the secretary of agriculture to make adjustments in the paid diversion program to mitigate its impact on fresh meat markets, and to require such adjustments of the average price received by beef producers drops by 10 percent during 10 consecutive days. Adopted 348-71: NV(2-2-1), November 9, 1983.

439. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Skeen, R-N.M., amendment to exempt dairy farmers who sell directly to consumers ("producer-handlers") from the paid diversion program, from an existing 50-cent assessment to be used to finance the program and from the 15-assessment for the national dairy promotional program authorized by the bill. Rejected 162-249, NV(4-0-1), November 9, 1983.

440. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Oberstar, D-Minn., amendment to extend the 15-month paid diversion program to 21 months and to revise dates for authorized changes in federal dairy price supports. Rejected 93-325: NV(0-4-1), November 9, 1983.

441. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Conable, R-N.Y., substitute to authorize the secretary of agriculture to reduce the existing \$13.10 (per hundred pounds) federal dairy support by as much as \$1.50, and to repeal two existing dairy assessments, each 50 cents per hundred pounds. Rejected 174-250: Y(5-0-0), November 9, 1983.

442. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Clinger, R-Pa., amendment to exempt from the 50-cent assessment those dairy producers who did not increase production after the paid diversion program began. Rejected 159-255: NV(1-3-1), November 9, 1983.

443. H.R. 4196. Dairy Production Stabilization. Passage of the bill to authorize a paid diversion program for dairy producers, a producer-financed dairy promotion program, reductions in the federal dairy price support, and also to retain an existing 50 cents per hundred pounds assessment on milk to help finance the diversion program, and to repeal a second 50-cent assessment. Passed 325-91: NV(0-4-1), November 9, 1983.

444. H.R. 3222. State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide \$10,499,665,000 in fiscal 1984 for the State, Justice and Commerce Departments and the Federal judiciary. Adopted 281-133: NV(1-3-1), November 9, 1983.

445. H.R. 3222. State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Smith D-Iowa,

motion that the House recede from its disagreement and accept a Senate amendment, as amended by the conference committee, to provide \$240 million in economic development assistance through the Economic Development Administration. Motion agreed to 305-107: NV(1-3-1), November 9, 1983.

446. H.R. 3222. State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Smith, D-Iowa, motion that the House recede from its disagreement and accept a Senate amendment, as amended by the conference committee, barring the Federal Trade Commission from issuing final rules until its authorization cleared Congress or until the first session of the 98th Congress adjourned. Motion agreed to 214-192: NV(1-3-1), November 9, 1983.

447. H.R. 3222. State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Smith, D-Iowa, motion that the House recede from its disagreement and accept a Senate amendment, as amended by the conference committee, providing \$11.89 million for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Motion rejected 170-235: NV(2-2-1), November 9, 1983.

448. H.R. 4102. Universal Telephone Service. Adoption of the rule (H. Res. 363) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to prohibit the Federal Communications Commission from imposing a monthly access charge on residential and small business telephone users for the right to use long-distance service. Adopted 249-149: NV(1-3-1), November 9, 1983.

450. H.J. Res. 413. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1984. Adoption of the rule (H. Res. 367) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to make further continuing appropriations for fiscal 1984. Adopted 238-177: Y(2-3-9), November 10, 1983.●

LA PRENSA CENSORED ON PASTORA BOMB STORY

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, the report that the Sandinista government did not permit publication of *La Prensa* because it contained a story about the bomb attack on Eden Pastora leads one to speculate that the Sandinistas might have themselves been implicated in the bombing. Certainly, if the CIA had been responsible, I am sure the Sandinistas would have taken the opportunity to report that.

LA PRENSA CENSORED ON PASTORA BOMB STORY

The independent newspaper *La Prensa* did not circulate yesterday because the government censorship office prohibited the publication of any information regarding the attack on Commander Cero [Eden Pastora] in southern Nicaragua. This information, which we reported in our first newscast in a direct relay from Managua by our special correspondent Dr. Salomon Calvo Arrieta, was also reported today by international news agencies.

Yesterday's issue of *La Prensa* was scheduled to include an extensive report on the attack on Pastora and photographs from International news agencies. That issue also contained a complaint by *La Prensa* photographer Jorge Ortega, who is in prison on

charges of participating in attacks by and affiliating with the Rebel ARDE group led by Eden Pastora. The Photographer's complaint, as we reported in our "News Impact" program, refers to the inhumane conditions in which he is being held by the state security organization.●

CYPRUS ISSUE

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, when the foreign aid bill was considered by this House last month, we adopted an amendment introduced by my good friend and colleague, Representative EDWARD FEIGHAN, which cut \$85 million in military aid to Turkey. This amendment was a clear expression of our concern over the ongoing Turkish occupation of Cyprus.

Recently, Mr. FEIGHAN delivered a speech to the Cleveland chapter of the American Hellenic Educational and Progressive Association, which addresses the Cyprus issue in depth. His remarks are right on target. I commend them to all my colleagues.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARD F. FEIGHAN SPEECH TO
CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF AHEPA

Thank you very much.

It is a great honor for me to receive this award tonight. I am very appreciative of the support and the encouragement I've received from you and from other Greek Americans throughout the country.

Let me begin by congratulating these fine men and women on their scholarships. Your selection is a credit to you, your family and your schools. I know that each of you will continue to work earnestly and diligently on your education, knowing that the effort you put forward now, will reap great benefits for you later. Your education will enable you to make the most of your capabilities as individuals, so that when your time comes to forge and shape the world, you will be able to say along with Archimedes—"Give me a place where I can stand, and I shall move the world."

Tonight I would like to speak about an issue that is familiar to many of you—the continued domination of Cyprus and its Greek-Cypriot citizenry. It is a subject that you have been involved with for a far longer time than have I.

In fact, as I prepared my remarks for tonight, I felt much like a student called upon to give a lecture to his professors. But that feeling was tempered somewhat by the realization that you were honoring me with the Socratic Award. Now that I have been presented with it, I am reminded of the words of Aristotle, quoted so often by one of my high school teachers, "The roots of education are bitter, but the fruit is sweet."

Many of you are intimately involved with the Cyprus issue. You have families and friends in Greece and Cyprus; you know the real human tragedy caused by the division on Cyprus; and you have dedicated time, energy, intellect and emotion to the cause of justice on Cyprus.

I know how frustrating that fight has been. It's been ten years since 40,000 Turkish troops invaded and divided Cyprus; ten

years since 200,000 Greek-Cypriots were driven from their homes; ten years since thousands more were killed and captured by Turkish troops who were using American weapons in a manner prohibited by American law.

Today, Cyprus is still bitterly divided. Over 20,000 Turkish troops continue to occupy the island, and they have been joined by 50,000 Turkish colonists who were lured from the mainland by the promise of land that had belonged to Greek-Cypriots. The Turkish lire is now the official currency of Northern Cyprus, and the Turkish Government in Ankara subsidizes over half of the Turkish-Cypriot budget.

These divisive actions have been taken despite an increasingly generous program of U.S. foreign aid to Turkey. Since our aid embargo was lifted in 1978, we have sent over \$3.5 billion to Turkey—making that country our third largest foreign aid recipient. And administration officials have estimated that future aid could top \$1 billion a year for ten years. All of this assistance has been—and will be—provided under the clearly expressed condition that Turkey would cooperate fully in efforts to bring about a solution on Cyprus.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I took a close look at this aid request—and at Turkey's actions. And I asked a simple question: Are our taxpayers' dollars being well spent in Turkey?

The answer was clearly no.

In 1983, Turkey refused to allow Voice of America and Radio Free Europe antennas on their territory; Turkey refused to condemn the destruction of the Korean airliner; and Turkey refused to allow American planes serving our marines in Lebanon to land at American bases in Turkey.

The crowning blow to our policy in the eastern Mediterranean came last November 15 when the Turkish-Cypriots unilaterally declared their part of Cyprus an independent republic—an act which occurred only hours after President Reagan signed a foreign aid bill that sent nearly \$1 billion in aid to Turkey.

This arrogant and illegal act—recognized only by the Government of Turkey—prompted me to introduce legislation to suspend military aid to Turkey until they took clear actions to unify Cyprus. Sixty-five of my colleagues joined me in cosponsoring the bill, and both Houses of Congress passed resolutions condemning the Turkish act.

But even as Congress took these actions, I noticed a growing reluctance to enact strong sanctions against Turkey. Many Members argued that we couldn't afford to anger Turkey because it bordered the Soviet Union. Others added that Cyprus was a "side issue" that should have nothing to do with aid levels. And as I became more and more outspoken on the issue, many of my colleagues jokingly referred to me as the Congressman from Greece, implying that Cyprus was only a concern of Greeks or Greek-Americans.

Well I couldn't agree less with this offensive and short-sighted view. The cause of Cyprus is not a creation of the "Greek Lobby." We have a number of very real strategic interests at stake on Cyprus:

At stake is the strength of NATO's southern Flank—tensions between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus undermine NATO.

At stake are some basic issues of international law and morality.

At stake is a small country's right to govern itself, free from outside pressures, threat, or blackmail.

At stake, finally, is the basic belief that American aid should serve American interests and American values—in other words, are we going to continue financing the illegal occupation of Cyprus?

I don't think that we should. And I am convinced that by failing to pressure Turkey for a settlement on Cyprus, we harm our broader interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

That is why I proposed an amendment to the foreign aid bill which cut \$85 million in military aid to Turkey. This cut is a clear expression of congressional frustration with Turkey over the deadlock on Cyprus.

A vast majority in the House voted for this cut, telling Turkey in no uncertain terms that we expect them to help resolve the conflict on Cyprus.

In addition, the amendment that I offered also set a new policy direction on Cyprus. It established a \$250 million "peace and reconstruction" fund that will be available if the parties on Cyprus can reach a settlement. In offering this amendment, it is my hope that this fund will help focus constructive energy on ways of encouraging the parties on Cyprus itself to work out their differences, and that it will provide a new, creative and—I believe—necessary approach to solving the tragic conflict on Cyprus.

Well, that is a bit of an overview on the issue of Cyprus as I see it in Washington. I've been grateful for the advice and suggestions that have come to me from Greek Americans here in the greater Cleveland area, as well as comments that have been made by members of the Creek-American communities around the country.

There are, however, those who suggest that turbulence so far from our shores should be of no concern to us. They raise their voices against our involvement in conflicts that do not affect our daily lives. They say our problems at home are too great, that our people's needs are too large for our country to attempt solving other problems around the world.

I recognize why some people express that view. But since the birth of our Nation, in the shadow of a bloody revolution, our people and our institutions have shared a commitment to higher values. At times we fall short, and we have never achieved our ultimate goals. But we have never stopped trying to build a better life and a just society for all our people and for others around the world.

At the turn of this century, President Theodore Roosevelt wrote that: "The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens." That is the American dream... a dream we see around us wherever we care to look.

Not the "American dream" as it has been popularized in novels and on movie screens. Not the "American dream" that says an individual works his way to the top and receives money, and riches, and fame. No, the "American dream" I am discussing is much more substantive, and it is much more rooted in a philosophical belief in "the common good" than is the more popular version.

The American dream of which I speak is the belief that an individual can make a lasting contribution to his country, his community and his world. It is a recognition that individuals have the capacity to use their freedom for the betterment of others, rather than just for themselves. The creation of scholarships, the encouragement of

youth, the building of civic organizations—these are the fundamental realities of the "American dream."

The nature of the American dream is perhaps best illustrated by John Adam's notion of the spirit of public happiness. It was this spirit, Adam said, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought—a spirit which is reflected in "discipline, dedication, pride in workmanship, citizenship and action." It was that spirit of achievement which fostered Americans and propelled the dream.

Today, that dream is threatened. It is threatened abroad by continuing conflicts that may engulf the great superpowers in accidental destruction. And it is threatened at home by a burgeoning deficit that threatens to steal our children's economic future.

No one, least of all those of us with children, can underestimate the threat those deficits and the interest rates they bring with them pose to our economic well being. I have seen one frightening estimate indicating that if Federal deficits run at the current rate for another five years, the national debt will grow to the unthinkable sum of \$2.4 trillion.

The interest alone on such a national debt would be over \$200 billion annually. As you can imagine, no conceivable growth in our gross national product would enable us to afford such payments.

The time has long since passed when we should have put a stop to this unchecked Federal growth. As Congress began work this year on the budget, I spoke out for restraint and responsibility. Unfortunately, at the time the budget arrived on the floor of the House, a majority of Members voted for a budget that fails to significantly reduce the deficit. In fact, the budget passed by the House adds \$530 billion over the next three years to the national debt.

I could not, would not, and did not vote for that budget.

Instead, I supported an alternative proposal: An innovative deficit reduction plan that could have cut the deficit by \$250 billion. It called for an immediate freeze on Federal spending levels, enabling Congress to rethink spending priorities and crack down on the Federal programs that spend money without concern for the overall public benefit.

Under the proposal I worked for, spending beyond the freeze level would require a "pay as you go" feature. Any increase in spending for a Federal program should carry with it a provision outlining from where the money will come to pay for it. It isn't too much to ask the Congress that it say how it will pay for the programs it enacts. The American people deserve no less than that.

Aristotle wrote: "I am not a citizen of Athens or of Greece, I am a citizen of the world." None of us, in this nuclear age, can be only citizens of Ohio, or of America. We are all citizens of the world.

Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. We face problems ranging the gamut of human experience—our deficit crisis pales in comparison to the immediate danger of nuclear war. But, never before has mankind had such opportunities as it has today. Opportunities for peace, for understanding, for progress.

That is the struggle that engages us in Cyprus.

To those who say it is not our problem, we respond that it is our opportunity. To those who say that we should not be involved, we respond that we already are. In an age when the weapons of war far outnumber the

channels of peace, we are involved—because of our size and our interest—whether we like it or not.

When American weapons are used to subjugate a nation, we are involved.

When an American ally betrays our trust and forces itself upon its neighbors, we are involved.

We are involved because we are citizens of the world.

Cyprus is but a small part of that world, but there are those of us who love it. But even for those who have never heard of it, the future of its people is important. Because, as Americans, we cherish freedom. And we share the desire of people throughout the world to share in it.

President John F. Kennedy prepared a speech for the afternoon of November 22, 1963—a speech he did not live to deliver. In it, he wrote that "We in this country, in this generation, are, by destiny rather than choice, the watchmen on the walls of world freedom." Today, twenty one years later, his words ring true. Not only for Americans who shared his dream, but for all who share a belief in freedom, not only in Cyprus, but around the world.

Thank you very much. ●

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN HUNGARIAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION OF TRENTON, NJ

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the opportunity to offer congratulations to the American Hungarian Civic Association of Trenton, NJ, on the occasion of their 50th anniversary.

These dedicated people are actively engaged in many community endeavors that will lead to a better and richer life for the community and especially its young people.

Each year the American Hungarian Civic Association awards scholarships to young people of Hungarian backgrounds in an effort to further the careers of the young and enable them to find success and enrichment in their lives.

The American Hungarian Civic Association 1984 Scholarship Award recipients are:

Imre John Bogar, Lisa Kondor, Janet Chiorello, Margaret A. Sabo, Lynn Tancredi, Eva S. Csige, Robert F. Pintye, Kathleen Beitel, Carol Blyskal, Richard Paul Furlong.

The American Hungarian Civic Association encourages these students to continue their education by awarding these scholarships. It achieves noteworthy objectives by raising funds for the scholarship program and thereby helping many young adults go on to institutions of higher learning after high school.

Mr. Speaker, the American Hungarian Civic Association will hold its 50th annual scholarship awards dinner and

dance this Saturday, June 9, 1984. This is a very special commemorative event of which I am proud to be a small part. I wish the American Hungarian Civic Association of Trenton, NJ, another 50 years of continued success.●

REMEMBRANCE AND IDEALISM

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, the recent visit to the United States of Jose Napoleon Duarte made a marked impression on all those who met with him, particularly those of us in this Congress who talked with him. A commentary by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., summarizes well the impact of President Duarte's visit to Washington.

[From the Baltimore News-American, May 27, 1984]

REMEMBRANCE AND IDEALISM

(By W.R. Hearst, Jr., Editor-in-Chief, Hearst Newspapers)

NEW YORK.—Jose Napoleon Duarte, president-elect of embattled El Salvador, just completed a visit to Washington, where he made a deep impression on all congressmen who met and heard him. The U.S.-educated engineer—he went to Notre Dame—vows to maintain democracy in his little Central American republic as the first freely elected president in more than 50 years.

El Salvador's army, once a stumbling block to previous democratic aspirations, is now apparently prepared to accept Duarte, who will be sworn into office next month as its unquestioned commander-in-chief.

That's the way it should be as noted by our own President, who hailed Duarte's visit. The Sandinista communist regime in Nicaragua, next door, supplies communist guerrillas in El Salvador but their terror couldn't halt the free elections that gave the president-elect nearly 55 percent of the vote.

President Reagan noted that if the Communists succeeded, as the Kissinger bipartisan commission report emphasized, 100 million people from Panama to our open border with Mexico would sooner or later come under the grip of pro-Soviet regimes.

We would, therefore, be confronted by a tidal wave of refugees. That alone requires stationing a couple of million of our own armed service people to stem the tide. It's a prospect, I'm sure, few in this country accept. The Soviet Union with its Cuban surrogates would turn the area into a vast gulag.

President-elect Duarte has impressed supporters in El Salvador and our people here with his total frankness. Our President, hardly a slouch when it comes to communicating with people, admired his guest for being fair and open-minded. Duarte thanked President Reagan for a televised speech to the people, saying what is at stake for all of us if we don't assist El Salvador in particular and Central America in general. It wasn't done abjectly but as president-to-president, both of whom know the hard issues.

The Duarte visit made so much of an impact that even House Speaker Tip O'Neill, longtime critic of President Reagan and his policies for Central America, had a temporary change of mind. Where he opposed President Reagan all the way on aid to El Salvador, Speaker O'Neill said: "I think that he (Duarte) has sold enough people in the House. The votes are there now."

House Majority Leader Jim Wright, of Texas, said he had no doubts about the outcome. It was Wright, a veteran Democrat, who put aside partisanship and helped President Reagan gain the needed votes for an aid-military package. The House Thursday adopted a \$62 million package of emergency military aid, peanuts for a life-or-death matter. Both Duarte and President Reagan reiterated that there is no need for U.S. combat forces for El Salvador.

Reinforcing congressional support for aid was the verdict by a court in El Salvador that found five former national guardsmen guilty of murdering four U.S. churchwomen. It was a unanimous decision by a three-man, two-woman jury after media reports suggested the trial was too tough for locals to face.

Duarte's incoming administration obviously shows that it won't tolerate coverups. The House swiftly approved assistance to El Salvador but held back on covert aid for Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua.

Besides being generally upbeat about the state of the economy, the President shrugged off the Soviet threat of their submarines off our coasts. "I wouldn't be sleeping in this house (the White House) if I was concerned about them," observed President Reagan, eliciting gales of laughter.●

THE DETROIT NEWS URGES MONETARY REFORM

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks the Detroit News has been running a remarkable editorial series on the critical role the Federal Reserve Board plays in the domestic and international economy. The News has emerged as the most thoughtful, and I believe consistently correct voice today on the cardinal issue of the 1980's: reforming our monetary institutions in order to stabilize the value of the dollar and bring interest rates down to their normal, lower levels.

I comment to my colleagues these excellent essays, and urge them to support reforms that will make the Federal Reserve Board's monetary policy more accountable and more predictable.

The editorials follow.

[From the Detroit News, May 15, 1984]

AYATOLLAH VOLCKER

Fed Chairman Paul Volcker last week came face to face with the interest-rate crisis he created and promptly decided to compound the felony. Because of rising interest rates, he said, poor nations around the world are facing disaster. The Fed chairman then proposed to delegate himself Aya-

tollah-like powers to place arbitrary limits on the interest rates charged for loans to these countries.

A far better way to lighten the load on poor nations is to get interest rates down. Everybody would then benefit, including all of us folks back home who are feeling the interest-rate pinch just as surely as the foreigners who have borrowed from us. We have some experience with usury laws here in Michigan, and they don't work. If you put a ceiling on interest rates, any banker worth his salt will take his money elsewhere when this cost of funds rises toward the ceiling. People with savings will park their money elsewhere, too.

To the extent an interest rate ceiling keeps the cost of money low abroad, it will only encourage borrowers to go "offshore" for their money. If Mr. Volcker wants to see General Motors move its headquarters to Brazil or Zaire, he's on to something. But why a borrower in Brazil or Zaire should get a lower rate than John Q. Citizen back in the states is beyond us.

Mr. Volcker's suggestion, which we hope will never get beyond the suggestion stage, appears chiefly aimed at deflecting criticism from himself for his role in causing interest rates to rise. Deficits, not his mishandling of monetary policy, are responsible for the high rates, he and others claim. The Fed is merely an innocent bystander, trying to keep the money supply on an even keel. If there's a crisis brewing in Third World debt, it must be somebody else's fault.

It's a line that's popular with the Reagan administration's political opponents, and it's greatly amplified by the liberal media. It even has its adherents within the White House. After spending the better part of two years trying to undermine his boss's program, Martin Feldstein, the president's chief economic adviser, finally announced last week that he will be returning to his academic post at Harvard this summer. He's a fine man personally and has done some distinguished academic work in previous jobs, but we wish him good riddance from his government post.

Hopefully the president will select a new adviser who understands that high government spending, not a tax burden that is still about the 1964-1979 average, creates deficits. He should also be a person who understands that an unfettered Federal Reserve, not a president who desires economic growth, is the chief danger when dealing with inflation and interest rates.

There is every indication that the interest rate runup of recent months is a creation of Mr. Volcker's Fed, not Mr. Reagan's White House. Last week's producer price index figures revealed that inflation is virtually nonexistent. Retail sales, even in "interest-sensitive" industries such as autos and housing, are bounding ahead. So is capital investment. The economy, in other words, is continuing its remarkable recovery despite the predictions of all the experts. But Mr. Volcker has been doggedly fighting the last war, against inflation, and has been keeping a too-tight rein on the money supply.

As a result, interest rates have no place to go but up. That's the market's natural way of balancing supply and demand. We'd rather have that than the alternative—more inflation. But the continued economic recovery, low inflation, and a gold price well below the level at which the recovery started all indicate that there is plenty of leeway for a more expansionary monetary policy. Third World countries staggering under the double burden of large debt and escalating

interest rates would benefit far more from this approach than from arbitrary efforts to cap rates. If Mr. Volcker presses the latter approach, he will only dry up credit for the debtor nations altogether—unless, of course, he virtually nationalizes American banks and forces them to continue their unwise lending to foreign countries.

The administration was right to criticize the Fed's stringent credit policy last week. Nobody can be absolutely certain why the economy acts as it does, or why interest rates are at historically unprecedented levels. But the administration's argument sounds a lot more convincing these days than Mr. Volcker's efforts to pin the blame for monetary conditions on everybody but himself. If Ayatollah Volcker doesn't relent, and instead compounds faulty monetary policy with credit controls, it won't be just the Third World that suffers. So will the automobile and other American industries, which are just beginning to taste the fruits of real economic growth for the first time in years.

[From the Detroit News, May 30, 1984]

THE BEST DEFENSE

In a few days, presidential candidate Ronald Reagan will journey abroad again, this time to the annual economic summit of the leading industrial nations in London. His side trips, to Normandy on the anniversary of D-Day and to Ireland to visit the ancestral hometown, are likely to receive most of the camera coverage. All the world's a stage, after all, and Mr. Reagan's the consummate actor.

But how he performs at the London meeting could be far more important. For one thing, there are some serious matters for the trading partners to discuss, including the drift toward protectionism. For another, Mr. Reagan is likely to be under intense pressure from the other leaders to accept the blame for the world's economic ills. How he handles the pressure will be an important clue toward the kind of political campaign he plans to conduct this summer and fall. Though Mr. Reagan is comfortably ahead in most polls now, his lead could evaporate if he decides to play it too safe and revert to a defensive game.

Mr. Reagan has little for which to apologize to his peers in London, either in terms of actual economic results or the example his policies have been setting. The U.S. economic recovery unleashed by the Reagan tax cuts is now pulling the rest of the industrial world along in its wake. World trade, down by 2 percent in 1982, rose 2.5 percent last year and is expected to increase over 5 percent this year. While the American economy roared ahead last year, Western Europe (and Japan) lagged. But this year the Japanese and the British cut taxes themselves, and they appear to be in the throes of strong recovery. West Germany's conservative government has promised a dose of the same medicine—an indication that the German welfare state finally is ending the huge expansion of the 1970s—and things are picking up strongly there.

Even France has reversed its big-spending, high-taxing ways. President Francois Mitterrand is now being called a supply-side Socialist; he has finally come to understand that in order to share wealth a nation must first create some wealth. In the place of redistributionist schemes to levitate incomes he is focusing on ways to make France's industries more efficient and its goods more competitive.

For political reasons nearly all of these countries will complain that high American interest rates are holding down their recoveries. That's not entirely unjustified. But they will be railing at the wrong man. Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, not President Reagan, controls the money supply and therefore interest rates. The "Reagan deficit," which is what most commentators assume is creating the high interest rates, have actually been declining. If there were a simple connection between deficits and interest rates, we could logically have expected interest rates to decline, too, in recent months. Instead they have risen. Besides, interest rates were far higher back in 1980 when the deficit appeared to be even lower than it is now.

So if our European and Japanese friends want to criticize American economic policy, Mr. Reagan should politely but firmly invite them to direct their barbs at the proper source—Mr. Volcker. The president should also invite them to join in a serious discussion about reforming the international monetary system. World stagflation dates from the time when the West abrogated the post-war link between the dollar and gold. Re-establishing that link, or some mechanism like it, may be the necessary precondition to restoring enough confidence in the dollar to bring down interest rates and create a climate more favorable to savings and long-term investment.

A new monetary standard was part of the Republican Party platform in 1980 and is likely to be part of the GOP platform again this year. The president will have plenty of opportunity in London to show that he's serious about this commitment, if he chooses. It could become the centerpiece of a second Reagan term, just as tax cuts were the centerpiece of the first.

If the president merely tries to duck the predictable fusillade of criticism at the London summit, he will be signaling that he plans to wage a defensive political campaign at home this fall and that he has no particular economic agenda for a second term. This will give his domestic foes as well as international critics time to nibble away at the progress he already has made, as happened with the tax increases of 1982 (and the pending tax increases in Congress).

The best defense against further erosion is a good defense. It would be ironic if President Reagan were to abandon Reaganomics just as other countries were beginning to embrace it. Instead, the president should begin to take the next big step. He should roll up his sleeves in London and go to work to make the currencies of the industrial nations once again as good as gold. ●

U.S. CONGRESS-BUNDESTAG YOUTH EXCHANGE

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Congress has assumed an important responsibility. It has undertaken to sponsor through funding and direct support an exchange program for young Americans and West Germans. In an effort to promote better understanding between the peoples of these two allied nations, we have just this

year set up this program which is intended to bring 435 West German high school and vocational school students to this country annually to live and study. Approximately the same number of American young people will go to West Germany each year. In this first year of the program, over 200 will be involved on each side.

I urge Members of Congress to learn more about this important exchange program, to make an effort to get to know the young people from their districts who will be participating and to meet the young West Germans who will be spending the upcoming year in their districts. It is also important, I believe, to publicize this exchange among the broader public. One way of familiarizing the public with this exchange is through Members placing articles in their local papers. To illustrate this, I would like to place in the RECORD an article I wrote for the Sun Publications on this exchange program.

YOUTH EXCHANGE PROGRAM SEEKS TO IMPROVE BOND WITH EUROPE

(By Congressman Larry Winn, Jr.)

In the spring of 1984 there have been few of the large-scale anti-nuclear demonstrations in Europe that occurred throughout 1983. Now that NATO's Pershing II and cruise nuclear missiles are in place, the millions who took to the streets to block their deployment in England, Germany, and The Netherlands are staying home or turning to other pursuits.

Though the mood in Europe is now more quiet, questions persist regarding the significance of the demonstrations. But one thing is clear: they were often anti-American as well as anti-nuclear. The young people involved usually drew little distinction between the two superpowers—the United States and the U.S.S.R. Criticism of the U.S. role in Central America was strident while there was little mention of Soviet actions in Afghanistan and Poland. U.S. global leadership was challenged.

To those Americans who had experienced World War II first-hand, this disaffection of the European younger generation with the United States has been worrisome. After all, the underpinning of post-war peace and stability has been the Atlantic Alliance. In trade as well as defense, a web of ties has ensured prosperity and security for both the United States and Western Europe. The young demonstrators wanted to turn Europe away from the United States and destroy the cohesion that had served both continents so well.

For their part, older West Europeans are no less concerned by what they perceive to be a U.S. turn away from Europe and toward Japan and the Far East. Increasingly, Americans are looking toward the Pacific for commerce and similarity of interests. This trend is combining with a rise in traditional American isolationism to provoke deepening fears in Bonn, Paris, and London of a U.S. drift away from Europe.

To repair these strains will take more than summit meetings and official visits on both sides of the Atlantic. Nothing sudden or spectacular will provide the slow steady mend at the grass roots which is needed.

Newly underway is a program which holds considerable promise for rekindling the kind

of popular support in the United States and Europe which is necessary for close Atlantic ties. It is designed to create a new generation of friends in the United States and in Germany who someday as our leaders will hopefully keep us together. This is the U.S. Congress—West German Parliament Youth Exchange Program. Under this program, which will be administered by the highly regarded Youth for International Understanding Exchange Program, 200 of America's top high school students will leave this July for West Germany to live and study for a year on full scholarship.

Kansas is especially honored to have four of its young people selected after rigorous competition to participate in the first year of this program. They are Lara Hayes of Shawnee Mission North High School; Shannon Dinkel of Ellis; Nancy Hackney of Newton; and Amy Randles of Olathe.

The coming year will not only be a wonderful event for these young women, but an important step toward regenerating U.S. European personal ties. Their exposure to West German and West German acquaintance with them and the similar experiences of German young people in the United States will be critical to overcoming the doubts and uncertainties which now exist in U.S. European relations. Hopefully, when the older generation relinquishes its leadership, it will pass the responsibility for maintaining strong U.S. European relations on to a generation which is committed to preserving and enhancing the Atlantic Alliance.●

COMMENTS ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES

HON. ROY DYSON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DYSON. Mr. Speaker, Recently I was a guest on the Edition Eleven television show on WBAL-TV in Baltimore, MD. At one point during the program, Mr. Ted Venetoulis, the program's well-known and revered host, made some poignant and perspicuous comments regarding the Olympic games and the upheaval currently surrounding them. I recommend to my colleagues the comments of Mr. Venetoulis and insert them in the RECORD at this time.

There's no sense in arguing about the Soviet decision to boycott the Olympics in 1984—or America's decision to boycott the Games four years ago. Two super powers are playing super power politics, playing games with games . . . except it's no game anymore. It is two rivals escalating their belligerence and dragging the rest of the world into the mud battle.

So, it's time to change—time even to do something dramatic—time to turn the Olympic argument into an olympian opportunity . . . a chance to strike a blow for reasonableness.

The best idea put forth in an awfully long time in a society often void of reasonable ideas, is the suggestion to permanently return the Olympics to its place of origin—Greece—and to return it to its original purpose . . . the full cessation of conflict among nations while these nations fought out their frustrations on the athletic field. Believe it or not, that's what happened in the original

Olympics . . . every nation would stop arguing, stop fighting, stop its aggressions, for the full period of the Olympics.

Now think of that today. Think first of the Olympics in a nation that the super powers did not envy . . . Greece . . . and think then of every nation—for two or three weeks ending hostilities.

No war in Afghanistan, no violence in the Persian Gulf. Northern Ireland at peace . . . Hostilities at a standstill in Lebanon or South Africa. For a couple of weeks, the Turks and Cypriots, North and South Koreans, Cambodians and Vietnamese, Jews and Arabs, would actually stop arguing, yelling, gun running, agitating. Can you imagine all that? Two weeks of peace I don't know about you . . . but I say take the Olympics back to Greece and you don't play unless you put down your weapons.●

CHURCH AND SANDINISTAS

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, the Catholic Church in Nicaragua has been one in the leading opponents to the Sandinista Regime. However, as columnist William Buckley recently pointed out, not all organizations related to the Catholic Church appear to oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology to the same degree as the church in Nicaragua. I urge my colleagues to read the following commentary, which appeared in the May 31 Washington Post.

The article follows:

CHURCH AND SANDINISTAS

(By William F. Buckley Jr.)

In his speech on Central America a few weeks ago, President Reagan mentioned, not without a trace of sarcasm, the extraordinary lack of ink, as the expression goes in the trade, given to the massive demonstration in Managua, Nicaragua, by Catholics on Good Friday. A crowd estimated at 100,000 accumulated to protest persistent Sandinista infringements on the freedom to exercise religion.

It is, of course, the same old story. No government that worships Marxist materialism can countenance a flourishing church. The experience in Poland constantly reminds the Soviet hierarchy that probably the only absolutely reliable asseveration of Marx and Lenin was that, in the end, communism and religion really cannot coexist without friction.

Now in the general light of the above, consider a solemn report recently issued that deals as follows with the communization of Nicaraguan textbooks, a source of major complaints by the Catholic hierarchy.

"It is also said that the new programs put forward Marxist ideology, and that the schoolbooks are also tinged with Marxism and are published in Cuba. We recognize that in general the programs and books do put forward new values, based on the real social, cultural and economic situation of the people, and are pro-Sandinista, without being doctrinaire and propaganda-filled. Many teachers and members of religious orders see many positive aspects in this, and with it, a new challenge: How can this new situation be evangelized?"

"It is also true that many books are printed in Cuba. The reason given for this is a purely economic one. If they come from Cuba, they cost practically nothing. If they had to be purchased elsewhere with dollars, they would be exorbitantly expensive."

Now these paragraphs were not written by the Emergency Civil Rights Committee, or by any other communist front group. They are, incredibly, a small part of a large report on Central America done by a Catholic organization with headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. It is called the International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity, and comprises 13 Catholic agencies in 11 countries concerned with economic development.

Not very much more is needed to convey the bias of the Mission Report on Central America than to reflect on the term "new values." The new values here referred to are about as new as the Soviet printing press. The notion that Cuban textbooks are being used because they are so inexpensive will get you a ham sandwich, if you have some ham, if you have some bread.

What's going on? There is still, in Managua—unless it was shut down yesterday—an independent Permanent Commission on Human Rights. It has been arguing for human rights for many years, right through the Somoza period. It has chronicled, day by day, the aggressions against freedom by the Sandinistas. There is, also in Managua, something called the Human Rights Commission. It is controlled by the Sandinistas, and says only flowery things about that government. The Catholic commission consulted only the second of these human rights commissions.

So is it in El Salvador, where the commission reports that the "FMLN" (never referred to as the rebels) receives its military aid "from solidarity groups in different parts of the world, which openly collect money for the purchase of military equipment." The commission refers disparagingly to the "Americanization" of the civil strife in Central America and, in effect, asks the whole world to evangelize in favor of "negotiation" in El Salvador, which is the code word for surrender to the guerrillas, and for an end to American aid to the government of El Salvador, and to the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

It is hardly a secret that quiet convulsions have been going on within the Catholic Church, a prominent segment of which has been captured by the populist know-nothingism of socialism. The CIDSE calls now for "information and conscientious campaigns to be conducted at all levels of society in our countries and by the most effective means."

Meanwhile, Catholics in Nicaragua sit by in anguish at the apparent lack of concern by fellow Christians over their progressive loss of freedom. Catholics look to the Vatican for intelligent intervention.

And everyone needs the reminder that the use of the Catholic label no longer certifies a document as primarily occupied with the welfare of the human spirit. And even if we could live by bread alone, these ignorant gentlemen do not even recognize that the socialist world is very, very bad at producing bread.●

REAR ADM. FRANK D. HIGBEE,
USCG (RET.): A MARITIME
LEGEND

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, at the June 11 marine industry luncheon to be held at the Ports of Call restaurant in San Pedro, there will be a reunion of prior captains of the Port of Los Angeles/Long Beach and a commemoration of the 90th birthday of Rear Adm. Frank D. Higbee, USCG (Ret.), the first captain of the port.

Admiral Higbee will celebrate his 90th birthday on June 10. His remarkable career is an inspiration for all mariners. He enlisted in the U.S. Navy in 1913, and was promoted to warrant officer in 1917. During World War I he saw action on the destroyer *Bainbridge* and other vessels. After the armistice he was on shore duty at Cardiff, Wales; London, England; and Danzig, Germany.

In 1927, he transferred to the Coast Guard as a lieutenant, and later commanded his first Coast Guard cutter, the square rigger *Bear*. He cruised the east and west coasts of the United States, the Arctic and Bering Sea, and served in the International Ice Patrol of the Atlantic.

In 1940, he was designated as the first captain of the Port of Los Angeles/Long Beach, where he was commended for assistance to vessels in distress and for enforcement of regulations as to the seaworthiness of merchant ships.

He left the west coast in 1943, to become chief of staff to the admiral commanding the Greenland patrol. He then went to the Pacific and commanded the Navy transport, *General Scott*. In the New Guinea-Admiralty Islands campaign he commanded a squadron of landing ships of the Seventh Fleet and afterward a flotilla of the Third Fleet that ended its war duty in Japan. In the Leyte invasion he led an advance beach party that went ashore at H-hour with assault troops of the 24th Infantry on Red Beach. There he was promoted to rear admiral pursuant to a special commendation of the Secretary of the Navy for performance of duty in actual combat with the enemy.

After the war, he retired and was appointed Los Angeles Port Warden in 1946. For over 18 years he served in this position and pioneered procedures and set policies that greatly minimized the threat of a shipboard or dockside disaster. Many of these procedures have now become common practice in U.S. ports. He changed the function and responsibilities of the Port Warden's office. Once basically cargo security guards, the Port Warden deputies

became thoroughly trained in the fields of ship inspection, pollution investigation and control, fire prevention, and a host of related maritime activities.

Following his retirement as Port Warden in 1964, Admiral Higbee helped establish, and served as first president of the California Cargo Protection Council for the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach. This agency virtually eliminated pilferage and other forms of cargo theft in the harbor. In 1978, he was appointed as assistant to the California State Lands Commission as an adviser for maritime affairs.

Admiral Higbee has for many years been regarded as a maritime legend. He has held a valid unlimited master mariners license with pilot endorsements for the Pacific Coast and Hawaii for the past 60 years, and is an honorary life member of the U.S. Propeller Club. He was honored by the city of Los Angeles when a roadway near the pilot station was dedicated "Admiral Higbee Way" on July 22, 1981.

Admiral Higbee lives in San Pedro in an apartment overlooking the harbor and he is not the least bit shy about reporting discrepancies he notices in the harbor to the proper authorities. The admiral swims a mile a day after walking to the San Pedro YMCA, and has three daughters, Anne Higbee-Glace, Joan Mercer, and Joyce Denny.

I join with my wife, Lee, in saluting Adm. Frank Higbee for his distinguished years of public service to the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, and in thanking him for making the harbor a place where sailors, maritime workers, residents, and visitors feel secure.●

HONORING THE OUTSTANDING WOMEN FROM CALVERT COUNTY

HON. ROY DYSON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DYSON. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to a group of women from Calvert County, MD, who exemplify the kind of dedication needed to provide effective community service.

In recognition of their efforts, the Calvert County Committee on Women is honoring them as another sign of the valuable contribution women are making to southern Maryland.

These women are involved in many parts of the Calvert County community. Their careers include work in education, government, finance, health and social service. Each of these women symbolizes the important role

women play in all parts of our country.

I am proud to represent these individuals and to acknowledge them today in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. These outstanding Calvert County residents are: Ethel Adams, Regina Brown, Margaret (Peggy) Demidis, Jean Dowell, Audrey B. Evans, E. Lynn Frazer, Carol Glover, B. Jane Fletcher, Grace Hutchins, Gloria Jones, Lynn Kahl, June King, Shirley McCarthy, Lola Parks, Carlene Parker, Dorothy Pohlod, Margaret Phipps, Thelma S. Robinson and Virginia N. Vanderford.

I commend the Calvert County Commission on Women for honoring these women. We can all learn from the important additions these women have made to their communities and urge my House colleagues to join me in applauding their efforts.●

U.S. INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, Congress has few responsibilities as serious as the oversight of U.S. intelligence activities. Yet, the debate over the mining of Nicaragua's harbors demonstrated that this congressional oversight is flawed. As Representative HENRY HYDE convincingly demonstrates in the following article which appeared in the *Elmhurst Press* on May 18, congressional oversight can be partisan and prone to leaks. Moreover, it is divided among the two Houses of Congress in such a way as to hamper its effectiveness. I commend to all my colleagues the analysis of the gentleman from Illinois and his recommendations for improving congressional oversight of U.S. intelligence activities.

HOW TO PLUG INTELLIGENCE LEAKS

(By Henry J. Hyde)

The furor in Congress over the mining of Nicaraguan harbors highlights a problem of overwhelming importance. Specifically, one must ask how capable Congress is of practicing responsible Congressional oversight of intelligence activities, once those activities are viewed as an integral part of a foreign policy that has become controversial and the subject of partisan debate.

After Vietnam and Watergate, both houses of Congress decided to establish select committees on intelligence following extensive investigations of U.S. intelligence activities. Early on, both committees appeared to conduct their business in an amicable and bipartisan manner with little evidence of politicization.

Unfortunately, such a turn of events was too good to last, and for the last two years or so, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, in particular, has become radically politicized.

A serious question with dangerous implications presents itself: Is our democratic

form of government unable to keep any secrets, no matter how sensitive to our national interest?

Richard Nixon told us in a recent television interview that publication of the Pentagon Papers revealed that we had a listening device inside the late Chairman Leonid Brezhnev's limousine. How's that for blowing one!

As we all know, the calculated, politically motivated leaking of highly sensitive information has become a Washington art form, and one that is not confined to Congress alone.

It appears the only way to mount a successful covert operation these days is for such activity to have the nearly unanimous support of both intelligence committees and the involved agencies of the intelligence community. Anything short of that is doomed to failure, as opponents will selectively leak material to their friends in the media with the purpose of frustrating the operation.

Moreover, as recent press disclosures clearly demonstrate, you can count on a flurry of these leaks just before anticipated congressional action on the disputed issue.

What is especially disturbing is that those who are doing the leaking probably have never stopped to think what the short- and long-term implications of their revelation will be with respect to U.S. intelligence efforts, as well as to U.S. foreign policy.

They are so preoccupied with scoring political points that they do not even begin to realize how their actions may be impacting on the lives of U.S. intelligence and foreign service personnel overseas.

One of the cardinal rules of intelligence is that one does not confirm the accuracy of news accounts regarding sensitive intelligence operations. Yet, in the wake of the initial press disclosures on the mining of Nicaraguan harbors, we saw the chairman of the House Permanent Select Intelligence Committee do just that during a public appearance before the House Rules Committee, and subsequently on the House floor.

Finally, in a move that must have left foreign intelligence service incredulous, the CIA felt obliged to issue a press release that for the first time implicitly and publicly acknowledged its involvement in the mining by citing 11 occasions when it briefed congressional intelligence committees on the matter.

These are but a few examples of recent events that make a mockery of the oversight system. Our friends and intelligence contacts around the world have taken note of our sorry performance in past weeks, and what they have observed cannot be reassuring.

We cannot afford to allow what presently masquerades as congressional intelligence oversight to continue any longer. I believe it is time to give serious thought to merging the existing intelligence committees into a joint committee composed equally of Republicans and Democrats who, in addition to the requisite trustworthiness, competence and responsibility, also possess the rare restraint to subordinate political considerations to the national interest.

Such a committee must be backed by a small cadre of apolitical professionals with the same exemplary personal qualities as the committee's members.

Creating a new joint oversight panel would diminish the possibilities for partisan posturing and significantly reduce the number of individuals having access to sensitive information, thus minimizing the risk of damaging, unauthorized disclosures.

It would also address some practical problems that have resulted from two committees overseeing the intelligence community. As we have learned in recent weeks, the two committees frequently do not focus on the same matters or coordinate on the issues as most of us had assumed.

A joint oversight committee would eliminate these problems, encourage bipartisan cooperation and ensure a more effective congressional oversight arrangement. ●

THE COMPETITIVE EDGE

HON. THOMAS J. DOWNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DOWNEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have recently returned from a very interesting tour of high technology companies along Massachusetts' "Route 128 Corridor." I was struck by the proliferation of companies there which have been started in the past 6 years. The chief executive officers of the companies, my hosts, repeatedly drove home the importance to their survival of venture capital.

Like everyone else, I am looking for solutions to the problem of how to bring our economy from the smokestack industry era into the new era of small, innovative, and highly competitive enterprises.

I do not claim to know the answers yet, but for others of my colleagues interested in this goal and how the Federal Government may be able to help I am offering the following Washington Post article for study and consideration. I found it an extremely interesting reiteration of what I heard so often on Route 128.

NATION'S HIGH-TECH ENGINE FUELED BY VENTURE CAPITAL (By Michael Schrage)

On Oct. 14, 1980, Wall Street went wild. Genentech Inc., one of the pioneers in the fledgling biotechnology industry, was going public, and everybody wanted a piece of the action. The initial stock offering price was \$35 a share. In less than three hours of frenzied trading, the price shot up to \$88, which technically made Genentech, a company that had never shipped a product, worth more on the stock market than the Chase Manhattan Bank. At the end of the day, the hottest stock in history eased back to \$71.25.

Less than two months later, Apple Computer Co., which had transformed the concept of the personal computer into a multimillion-dollar business, also went public. Five million shares were snapped up that first day, with the price rising from \$22 in the morning to \$29 a share at the close of trading.

The successes of Genentech and Apple marked the takeoff of the venture capital market, a dynamic, uniquely American combination of ideas and money that represents a vital strength in a new era of global competition in high-tech manufacturing and services.

The venture capital companies, specialized investment firms that seek out entrepreneurs and inventors, are a key link in the

development of new technologies. "Venture capital isn't the engine, but it is the fuel," says Kip Hagopian, a venture capitalist and president of the National Venture Capital Association.

In the past five years, the pool of venture money has soared. In 1979, the total assets managed by the nation's venture capital firms totaled \$3.8 billion. Today, the venture capital community has an estimated \$12 billion in its asset pool. Thousands of companies have been launched, in ventures ranging from telecommunications to computing to biotechnology to new materials.

And by fueling new ideas, venture capitalists have exerted a crucial influence throughout industry, pushing many of the nation's largest companies in new directions in research and marketing.

But for all this growth and influence, the venture market remains dependent upon a healthy economy and a bullish stock market. High inflation and interest rates have choked off investment in risky new ventures before, and can again.

Many venture capitalists foresee casualties among their own ranks as their need for new capital for their companies outstrips the market's willingness to provide it. Indeed, not all venture-funded companies are true innovators. Many, in fact, are "me-too's" that copy the market leaders and are not in the best position to survive.

Nevertheless, the venture sector now represents the most dynamic engine of commercial innovation and economic growth in the United States. Europe and Japan are taking their first steps at trying to copy this American invention.

Unlike J. P. Morgan, James Fisk, Jay Gould and other 19th-century "robber barons" who merged and consolidated companies in a relentless quest for monopoly, and unlike the conglomerateurs of the "go-go" 1960s who amassed their fortunes by buying up every company in sight, venture capitalists make their fortunes by turning entrepreneurs into enterprises.

"We think in terms of building new businesses," says John Doerr, a partner at Kleiner, Perkins, Caufield and Byers, the San Francisco-based venture capital partnership that has funded firms ranging from Genentech to Tandem Computers to Lotus Development Corp. (the creators of the Lotus 2-2-3 computer program) to Compaq Computer Corp. (the makers of a successful IBM-compatible portable computer). "In our more grandiose moments, we think of building industries."

Genentech and Apple Computer are both venture capital-funded companies. Both of them were absolutely vital in the creation of new industries with international dimensions. Genentech spawned a host of genetic engineering and biotechnology start-ups. Major pharmaceutical companies including Johnson & Johnson, Merck and Hoechst began their own genetic engineering research or quickly arranged partnerships with venture companies. Biotechnology is expected to be a multibillion-dollar industry by the end of the decade.

The success of Apple Computer's IIe personal computer inspired industry giant IBM to launch a crash personal computer project of its own. Now Hewlett-Packard, Digital Equipment Corp. and dozens of other companies are fighting for their share of the personal computer industry.

Neither of these two industries existed a decade ago. It took the fuel of venture capital—not the big budget investment of corporate giants—to power them into exist-

ence. Venture capital is financing the commercial introduction of technological revolutions.

This has been happening even as venture capital is undergoing a revolution of its own. Six years ago, the National Venture Capital Association had 69 members. Today, that number has more than doubled to 175. Not only are there more venture capitalists, but there's also more venture capital.

"The most important general development in venture capital has been the amount of money that's poured into the venture funds," says Benno Schmidt, who, along with New York financier/socialite John Hay (Jock) Whitney formed the first venture capital partnership in the country in 1946. "When our firm started, there was no venture capital as such. There was no place where a man could go with a new idea unless he happened to have a good friend who was wealthy. I don't think Jock in his fondest dreams thought venture capital would ever be where it is today."

The huge sums of money that have poured into venture capital coffers have altered the industry's basic structure. A few years ago, a \$75 million venture fund for investment was considered substantial. Today there are \$250 million in "megafunds" raised by top venture capitalists. The effect, says one venture capitalist, is to shift the emphasis away from actually providing the seed capital to start companies to fueling the growing companies with the capital necessary to expand.

There are several interrelated reasons for this growth spurt. Key among them, says Hagopian of the National Venture Capital Association, was the 1978 reduction in the maximum capital gains tax from just under 50 percent to 28 percent. That made investments in company stock far more attractive.

That same year, the Department of Labor issued a decision loosening the "prudent man" rule that governed pension fund investments. Pension fund managers are not supposed to make unduly speculative investments with their funds. The ruling effectively allowed pension funds, which collectively have a capital reservoir of nearly \$1 trillion, to actively invest in venture capital funds. Today, pension fund money accounts for nearly one-third of the venture capital asset base.

A third reason has been the return on investment delivered by many of the top venture capital funds over the last several years. Kleiner, Perkins—the venture capitalists who initially funded Genetech in the mid-1970's—put some \$200,000 in the company. That investment is now worth more than \$50 million.

Apple Computer's venture capitalists enjoyed similar results. Venrock Associates, affiliated with the Rockefeller family, put \$500,000 into Apple in 1978. When trading closed the day Apple went public, that investment was worth more than \$110.25 million.

One Kleiner, Perkins fund returned over 110 percent compounded over five years. General Electric's venture capital arm reported an 80 percent compounded return. Several other partnerships have reported compounded returns well over 50 percent during the life of their specific investor funds. Those kinds of numbers humiliated the returns garnered by the mutual funds, index funds or precious metal investments and commanded the attention of serious investors all over the world. Pension fund managers decided it might be prudent to put some of their assets into venture capital after all.

"Venture capital for the last five years has been on a roll," says Stanley Pratt, publisher of the Venture Capital Journal and an industry consultant. "It used to be that the lemons ripened early and that the pearls took a long time to cultivate. The past few years have been an exception to that."

Some part of that is due to venture companies quickly capitalizing on the technological breakthroughs that have occurred in the past decade. It was just slightly more than 10 years ago that Intel Corp. (itself a venture capital-founded company in 1968) introduced the microprocessor, the tightly integrated silicon chip that represented a major leap in computing power.

The microprocessor quickly became the technological cornerstone of the personal computer. The personal computer, in turn, became the foundation for the multibillion-dollar personal computer software industry, which is filled with venture capital-funded start-ups.

Similarly, basic research in recombinant DNA—the chemical sequence of life that determines which characteristics are passed on from generation to generation—had evolved to the point where commercial testing of genetic engineering became economically feasible. Venture capitalists, sensing a tremendous potential for genetic engineering's application to medicine and agriculture, began recruiting molecular biologists from universities and making them part of biotechnology venture firms.

The new high-technology companies, marketing the applications of their research and development, had the ability to grow quickly in both revenue and profits. The sheer pace of the technologies and the industries they generated made them an obvious target for venture capital funding.

"High technology will be the major part of venture capital as far as I can see," says Schmidt, a managing partner of J. H. Whitney and Co.

"The industry will essentially be a high-technology funder from now on."

The gradual deregulation of the telecommunications and health care industries also drew entrepreneurs and venture capitalists who felt that the time was ripe to launch new companies in those areas.

This ability by venture companies to identify key new technologies and bring them to market quickly has a far greater impact than reaping great returns for venture investors.

"Small companies are essentially disciplining the larger companies now," says James Brian Quinn, a professor at Amherst College who specializes in industrial innovation.

"The bulk of my revenues come from large firms who are trying to spot what the venture capitalists are doing," says industry observer Pratt. "They use them as delphic oracles. But we've never known a delphic oracle that bets money on its prophecies."

"By tracking venture capitalists," he continues, "you get a clear three- to four-year lead time indicator on the development of new industries. The large corporations love this."

The venture process provides an outlet—and escape—for innovators in the large corporations. "The venture firm tends to be focused on intermediate-term goals," says Tate Elder, who heads Allied Corp.'s New Ventures Group, which seeks new business opportunities for the \$10 billion conglomerate.

"I stress that because everybody talks about the sins of short-term orientation or

the current trend of looking at things for the long term. With an intermediate-term orientation, the dream is saleable. They can show results."

Moreover, venture companies are burdened with few of the overhead problems associated with the industrial giants.

"The whole game for the venture independent is to grow something," says Elder.

"You don't expect a mature elephant to double in size while embryos do very well," he says. "We're a \$10 billion company. What's going to be bigger than a wart on this elephant?"

That is a major reason why people with new ideas at large companies choose to "go entrepreneur."

The "hurdle rate"—the return on investment, the return on time, the return on resources—just isn't large enough for a multibillion-dollar company to be interested in the idea.

On the other hand, an idea that can be developed into a \$100-million-a-year business is of extraordinary interest to the venture capitalist.

The venture community also participates in a different sort of technology transfer. By funding several companies in any given industry, says Quinn, "they give the larger companies a richer and more flexible base to call on. The big company buys the survivor of 20 fledgling companies in a new field. This is the way a big company gets around the risks of innovation; the large company cuts its risk by a factor of 20."

And, of course, the venture capitalist makes his return on investment by getting the appropriate purchase price from the big company.

Ironically, despite the explosion in the venture capital asset base, there may still not be enough capital around to further finance the growth of their venture companies.

One reason may be that the venture capital industry may have grown too big for its own good.

As more investors and money enter the venture market, it becomes more difficult to get premium returns, according to the economic theory of efficient markets. "That should mean that venture capital investments will yield a lower relative rate of return," says Janet Hickey, who manages the more than \$200 million venture capital investment made by the \$10 billion General Electric Co. pension fund.

Moreover, all these new companies have a relentless appetite for capital as they try to grow. "There will be a definite capital crunch," she says. "I don't think you're going to top the ebullient situation we've had the last five years."

"There are now a lot of hungry children to feed," says venture capitalist Hagopian. ●

RETAIN THE RIGHT OF CLASS ACTION FOR REFUGEES

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, when the Mazzoli immigration bill, H.R. 1510, is considered by the House, I intend to offer an amendment reestablishing current law as it pertains to the right of refugees and excludable

aliens to bring class action suits. Quite often, groups of refugees are subject to identical treatment when applying for asylum or stays of deportation; this amendment makes clear that if that treatment violates the Constitution or laws or treaties of this country, the group may appeal that treatment in a class action suit.

I would like to include in today's RECORD a copy of a letter from the New York Bar Association to the chairman of the Rules Committee, Representative CLAUDE PEPPER, supporting this amendment. I commend the bar association's explanation of the issues involved to the attention of my colleagues:

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION
AND NATIONALITY LAW,
April 30, 1984.

Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER,
Chairman, Committee on Rules, House of
Representatives, Rayburn House Office
Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PEPPER: We are writing to ask for your assistance on a provision of pending immigration reform legislation (Simpson-Mazzoli) which, if enacted in its present form, would severely limit the access of political asylum applicants to the federal courts. This provision has been the subject of reports by this Association's Committees on Immigration and Nationality Law and Federal Legislation.

The courts have recently played an important protective role with respect to asylum seekers in the United States, particularly Haitians and Salvadorans. The House Judiciary Committee version (H.R. 1510) of the legislation would permit federal class action jurisdiction to challenge broad pattern and practice violations by the Immigration and Naturalization Service only if such violations were of constitutional dimension. Violations of the statute (Immigration and Nationality Act) and treaty (Protocol and Convention relating to the Status of Refugees) could not be redressed under the provision.

H.R. 1510 provides for class action jurisdiction where there is alleged "a pattern or practice of violations of provisions of the Constitution." The provision, when offered, included the words "or laws" after "the Constitution." It was adopted by the Committee, however, without the words, "or laws." A court construing the provision might consider whether the deletion was deliberate; it thus might limit class actions to constitutional claims. Consequently, it should be made clear that non-constitutional claims are also available for review in the context of class actions.

The problem with an overly restrictive jurisdictional grant is illustrated well in the recent decision of the Eleventh Circuit in *Jean v. Nelson*, which holds that certain arriving aliens have no constitutional rights with respect to their applications for admission, applications for release, or applications for political asylum. The decision does, however, acknowledge the potential for non-constitutional claims for such aliens. The *Jean* case concerns those Haitians who were detained by the Immigration Service and released pursuant to court order in 1982.

In order to assure adequate legal protection for asylum seekers, it is important to modify the current House Committee formulation to include violations of statute and treaty. We therefore ask that the proposed amendment which was the subject of testi-

mony before you on April 10, 1984, by the Honorable Richard L. Ottinger be ruled in order with respect to the rule that will govern floor consideration of the legislation. Sincerely,

ARTHUR C. HELTON.●

MONETARY POLICY

HON. RON PAUL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I am one of the most vocal critics of the Federal Reserve and the current system of manipulated monetary policy. I tend to favor any proposal that would bring the Federal Reserve System under control, but the plan recently introduced to impose several new restrictions on the Federal Reserve, H.R. 5460, the "Balanced Monetary Policy and Price Stability Act of 1984," unfortunately cannot achieve that result.

If we are lucky, this year will be a prosperous one with low inflation, declining unemployment, and interest rates will not rise too fast, hopefully, to kill the economic recovery. In this relatively calm middle period, before the next monetary crisis hits us again, we could pass legislation to correct our dangerous, unstable monetary system.

The proposal of the gentleman from New York (Mr. KEMP) is seriously deficient, however, because it does nothing to take the monetary and financial system out of the political arena, which is the cause of the instability of our present institutions. I fear the proposal would add to the politicization of our central bank. Rather than binding monetary policy to a stable, predictable set of rules, there would be an increased focus upon the short-run manipulations of the Federal Open Market Committee.

The primary flaw in the proposal is its failure to look beyond the institution of the Open Market Committee itself and to address the question: "What kind of monetary system is consistent with a democratic society, a free-market economic system, and a constitutional government?" Most Members of this body know that centralized Government planning is not consistent with democracy, free markets, nor with constitutional protections of liberty. Too few of us, however, recognize the doctrine of central banking as a threat to our system. It is the failure of H.R. 5460 to acknowledge this fundamental point that I criticize.

The doctrine of central banking as it developed in the 100 years following the Bank Charter Act of 1844 in England encouraged economists to study stabilization policy as if it were a new science of macroeconomic management. Whole generations of economists have been seduced into a game

of political advocacy rather than dispassionately analyzing the operation of competitive markets in the financial sector. Yet, macroeconomic management is not a science at all. The fashionable idea of fine tuning, the economy that dominated policy debates during the early sixties is thoroughly discredited today. The idea that there is an economic trade off between the rate of inflation and the unemployment rate is discredited today.

The greatest threat to constitutional government is ignorance and superstition, but in this area of monetary policy we are haunted and victimized by a set of economic theories long ago repudiated in the areas of commerce, transportation, communications, and labor: the theories of cartels and mercantilism. When the Federal Reserve Act was passed in 1913, economists and financial experts were laboring under the fatuous view that a central bank could promote monetary stability and help to end panics and crashes in our economy. After the Fed brought us the great crash of 1929-33, we marched boldly backward toward mercantilism with the Glass-Steagall Act, which further cartelized the financial services system of this country.

The fear of the Federal Reserve that paralyzes Congress from looking seriously at a modern, free-market alternative is rooted in ignorance. It is nourished by the pretense of some special, esoteric knowledge, which the Federal Reserve supposedly uses to guide our monetary policy. So long as we allow ourselves to be hypnotized by the experts at the Federal Reserve about the monetary system, Congress will never perform its constitutional duty to regulate it. Even this bill with its proposed amendments to the central bank's charter would simply add more technical frosting to the cake and contribute nothing to the solution.

It is very important that each Member look seriously at the way monetary policy is managed in this country and ask yourself these three questions:

Are you satisfied to let the most important economic policy—the cause of high interest rates, inflation, recessions, and unemployment—be carried out in secret, by men who pretend to know more about it than you do, or the financial markets, but who—in truth—are no better informed than you and your staff are?

Are you interested in alternatives to a system of central bank mismanagement, which has produced in the past 10 years the greatest inflation since the Revolutionary War, sharp recessions in 1975 and 1982 with the highest unemployment since the Depression, and interest rates that are already heading for double-digit levels?

Do you accept the arguments of economists that paper money without any relationship to gold or silver coins, is a better monetary system? Do you know what assumptions they make in order to reach their conclusion that a mismanaged paper standard is better? The superficiality of most monetary theorists, who simply pretend they know more about market behavior than people active in the market, is amazing.

I have advocated a new U.S. gold coinage since I first came to Congress in 1976 because I asked myself those questions. There are several million people in the United States who worry very much about our monetary system—you receive letters from your constituents every week about monetary policy. It has been fashionable for many years among economists to dismiss the idea of using gold as a foundation for the monetary system. If the starting point for analysis is a system of centralized or cartelized banking, there is some good evidence that using gold as the reserve asset does not make the system stable. Yet it should be obvious that the problem is not with the use of gold, but with the basic design of the central-banking institutions.

In all economic systems, even in Communist countries, human beings evaluate every opportunity they perceive; this is the process of cost estimating that underlies all economic judgments. Economic value is essentially subjective—not objective or measurable by price indexes. The most important function of money, and the reason to support a monetary system based on a real gold standard—a price rule control process—must be to provide a specific definition to the monetary unit in some tangible form, regardless of the fact that a myriad of money substitutes like checking accounts, credit and debit cards, money market funds, overnight repurchase agreements, and even green pieces of paper will be commonly used instead of basic, tangible coins. Only if the opportunities, the costs of making an economic choice, are specific and concrete will the individual decisionmaker be able to make early rational decisions. A monetary unit that remains essentially subject to central-bank manipulation, to political tinkering, will not give any long-term reassurance to the markets.

Look at the proposal, H.R. 5460. Consider what it does not do:

It does not provide the average American with any alternatives to mismanagement of monetary policy. It says policy should be managed differently, but it does not question the axiom of "(mis)management." The fallacy is to cling to the idea that some technician in the Federal Reserve can beat the market and make our econo-

my more stable. The evidence all points in the other direction.

It does not provide a legislated standard of value, but rather offers the ideal of a commodity price index that fluctuates only within a narrow range. If this is supposed to be a facsimile of a gold standard, why not have the real thing? Any two people can negotiate a price-indexed contract with a basket of commodities under a real gold standard, but the benefits of a real gold standard are protection for the little guy, the small saver, against monetary debasement—and low interest rates and zero inflation as a result of that protection.

The advantage of a gold standard over a price rule pseudo-gold standard is that the monetary unit itself should be given a stable definition. An economy based on a free market system needs a method to communicate prices, a stable framework for the pricing structure, to achieve stability in growth, employment, and any average index of prices. Taking an unstable unit of account, a fiat dollar, and trying to legislate stability by means of a commodity price index is nothing but a commodity price-control scheme.

There is a widespread, modern recognition by economists and politicians across the Nation and throughout the world that Government regulations in every other economic sector do not make our lives richer, safer, nor more fulfilling. We do not believe in either Big Brother or Santa Claus. The tremendous advances in electronics and communications provide us with opportunities for modernizing our monetary and banking system, of basing it upon a stable unit of account—the troy ounce of gold—and eliminating the instability in monetary policy due to central banking and the overregulation of financial institutions.

The appropriate modernization of the 70-year-old Federal Reserve Act would be to repeal it, and replace the central bank with a decentralized system of financial clearinghouses, stripped of all power to manipulate bank reserves and interest rates. The Federal Government—that is, the Congress—does not need to do any more than define the U.S. monetary unit and tell the Treasury how to keep the Government's ledgers. Our payments system in a modern economy does not have to run like a nationalized industry, and indeed the parts of it the Federal Reserve is responsible for are the most unstable.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt abolished the domestic gold standard in 1933, he justified his action on the grounds that he needed more freedom to manage monetary policy. Until recently we have suffered from high inflation accompanied by high unemployment, declining productivity, and volatile financial markets due to the wrong-headed scientism of central

planners who have held—and still hold—the belief that they alone can guide a worldwide free market. The legislation introduced by the gentleman from New York does nothing to reduce the haughtiness, the arrogance, the ignorance, or the power of the Federal Reserve System. Instead it offers us just one more experiment in macroeconomic planning. I have grave reservations about H.R. 5460.●

TEENAGER'S ROLE IN UPHOLDING THE CONSTITUTION

HON. LANE EVANS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. EVANS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the older generation senses in the younger an attitude of apathy toward their government and society. Teenagers are assumed to have little interest in the workings of their government or of their place in the framework of democracy. Yet, there are young adults who firmly grasp the ideals upon which our Nation was founded, and strive to define their responsibilities within our society.

Although these students cannot vote, they realize that the legacy which we leave them in the current Congress will greatly affect their futures and the world in which they live. Many of the problems that we deal with today will have increased in complexity by the time these teenagers become adults, and added to these some we have not yet encountered. These students want to take an active role in government. For them, the Constitution represents the mechanism by which they can exercise this right; it is a dynamic, useful tool which they are prepared to utilize.

Recently, I was at a Loyalty Day dinner in my district where one such teenager, Tracy Moran, expressed this desire. I would like to share her speech with our colleagues and to commend Tracy for her well-chosen words.

The speech follows:

MY ROLE IN UPHOLDING THE CONSTITUTION

The fate of a nation lies within its people—just as the fate of a play lies within its actors. If the actors in a play approach their performances with apathetic attitudes, the play closes. Likewise, if the people of a nation view their duties as ones of little importance, the nation fails. I am an actor within a company of actors who's role is to make this nation survive. I am an actor, yet I have never auditioned for the part. One might ask oneself, "How did I become such a prominent figure in this struggle for survival when I have never had to fight for that right?" The answer is clear.

The immigrants of the 1800's who struggled for equal rights, better working conditions in factories, and freedom in a new land.

The men and women of the armed forces who have fiercely fought America's battles (from the first battle of the Revolutionary war at Lexington to the most recent U.S. invasion in Granada.)

The outstanding leaders, such as John F. Kennedy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln, who have at times gone against the most popular issue to do what was right.

It was their protecting, debating, and protesting that has made the constitution what it is today.

What are my responsibilities? I have several, but my main one is to simply vote. The right to vote has been bestowed upon me by Americans of the past and I would be a fool not to take advantage of it. Do you think that Dred Scott, a black man who was denied citizenship, would have sat at home on election day going about his daily chores? I don't; he would probably be the first in line at the voting booths. What about Susan B. Anthony or Elizabeth Cady Stanton who were leaders of the National Woman Suffrage Association. They dedicated their lives to having the right to vote.

I feel that it would be an insult to these people's achievements for me to give up this precious right. Along with the privilege of voting, there comes a task. It is my job to investigate the issues and research the candidates so that I may evaluate the situation and cast my vote for the person who represents my best interests. Although there is a certain degree of work involved, the rewards will be waiting for me somewhere down the road. At the present time, I am unable to exercise my right to vote. However, I am guaranteed that right as soon as I reach the age of 18.

There are several other ways that I can uphold the constitution. For example, I can do my best to educate myself to the point where I can interact with society and be an independent individual. I can obey laws to better my community. I can voice my opinion to influence my representatives and senators in order to help them make wise decisions—decisions that will work towards my benefit and the benefit of the common people. I can refuse to lower my values even under the most trying of circumstances. I can walk with my head high and be proud that I am free to do as I wish within the boundaries of the law. I can get involved in worthwhile community activities and projects to become a well-rounded citizen. The list is virtually endless.

It is now opening night. The curtain is about to go up. The actors are entering the stage. I am among these actors and we are all a bit nervous. No matter how prepared or unprepared we may be, we are America's people and we have a job to do. Our job is to keep this country going. If we should happen to forget our lines half way through the performance, we have our constitution to look to for guidance. If we follow this great document, we will continue to be the land of the free, the home of the brave, and the nation of opportunity that we have been for over 200 years.●

ARMS CONTROL

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, on April 11, I inserted in the record the texts of

12 amendments dealing with arms control, and I now want to report the amazing success achieved so far. In the last few weeks, we have witnessed the greatest series of arms control victories ever accomplished in the legislative arena. The House, acting on the floor, worked its will on the Defense Authorization Act in a way it has never done before. In the space of just a few days, the House voted for a moratorium on the testing of antisatellite weapons. It voted to hold up the deployment of nuclear-tipped missiles on ships. It voted to kill the production of chemical munitions.

The MX got all the ink in the media. But the major changes wrought by the House in May deserve to get far more attention. Those votes are a landmark in legislative history and in the history of arms control.

Those victories were the result of a lot of hard work by many Members. I would point to Congressmen GORE, DICKS, GEORGE BROWN, BEDELL, LEACH, PRITCHARD, and a dozen other Members whose efforts were instrumental.

Mr. Speaker, most of the victories won for arms control in May came on those amendments that I aired 8 weeks ago. These were not resolutions or mere statements of the sense of Congress, but practical ways of addressing the concerns at the heart of arms control.

My purpose was to collect them in one place and show that they were not an isolated group of ideas, but rather parts of a whole. The whole is the concept of stability as the keystone issue of arms control.

I am pleased to report that 7 of those 12 amendments have already been adopted and are part of this year's Defense Authorization Act, which passed the House last week. In fact, every one of the items in the package that we have tried to have enacted has been passed. So, it can be said that we are batting 1,000.

Of the remaining five, three will be proposed to bills due before the House later this year and two are on hold for the moment. The latter two could have been introduced on the Defense Authorization Act, but we might have been stifled by overload.

The authorization bill still must face the House-Senate conference. Some of these amendments are controversial—such as those antisatellite weapons and on sea-launched cruise missiles. So we have won several battles, but we have not yet won the war. This is not just a 1-month effort. This is a commitment by many Members of this body to push ahead with serious arms control.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a table that tracks the current status of each of those 12 amendments.

STATUS OF PACKAGE OF 12 ARMS CONTROL "STABILITY" AMENDMENTS

Amendment	Status
1. Prohibit testing against an object in space of ASAT's so long as Soviet Union continues to abide by its testing moratorium.	Introduced on Defense Authorization bill by Mr. GEORGE BROWN. Approved 238-181 on May 23, 1984.
2. Prohibit development of ASAT that could threaten high-altitude satellites.	On hold for present.
3. Detailed annual budget submission on request for Strategic Defense Initiative to provide more visibility to contents of program.	Amendment by Mr. ASPIN adopted by the House Armed Services Committee; contained in Defense Authorization bill.
4. Funding limit on SDI.	Request was \$1,776 million; House Armed Services Committee cut \$407 million. Next effort to cut will come on appropriation bill. On hold for present.
5. Mandate compliance with provisions of SALT I and SALT II.	Introduced on Defense Authorization bill by Mr. ASPIN. Amended by Mr. STRATTON. Adopted by voice vote May 31, 1984.
6. Ban deployment of SLCM's until method is established to distinguish conventional SLCM's from nuclear SLCM's so as not to undermine SALT counting rules.	Drafted for DOE bill.
7. Parallels #6 applying to warhead production.	Introduced on Defense Authorization bill by Mr. ASPIN. Approved by voice vote May 30, 1984.
8. Report on way theater nuclear weapons could be designed for longer-range delivery so they would not be subject to a use 'em or lose 'em decision in opening moments of a war.	Drafted for DOE bill.
9. Prohibition of testing of Standard Missile-2 warhead.	Introduced on Defense Authorization bill by Mr. ASPIN. Approved by voice vote May 30, 1984.
10. Report to Congress on details of withdrawal of 1,400 tactical nuclear warheads, as agreed to recently by NATO.	Amendment by Mr. ASPIN adopted by House Armed Services Committee, included in Defense Authorization bill.
11. Report by DOD on how to improve survivability of SSBN force.	Introduced on Defense Authorization bill by Mr. DICKS. Approved by voice vote May 30, 1984.
12. Report to Congress on combinations of counterforce weapons (MX, Midgetman, D-5) that would give United States a first-strike capability.	

The theme that links these amendments is stability. This concept is too rarely understood. Our concern should not be with mere numbers—a la Time magazine charts that show big red missiles and little blue missiles—but rather with a configuration of weapon systems that does not tempt one side or the other to resort to nuclear weapons. That involves more than numbers.

Contrary to popular opinion, massive reductions in the numbers of nuclear weapons could actually harm us. Reductions could be destabilizing. Why? Fewer weapons make the possessor fret more about the survivability of the limited numbers he has left. Large numbers bother the public, but the thought of small numbers ought to worry them if they would envision

presidents and politburocrats confronting crisis with such a small number of nuclear weapons that they would consider using them for fear their weapons might otherwise be knocked out in a war. Or, put starkly, let us say both we and the Soviets give up the capability to destroy each other seven times over and cut our stockpiles back to the point where neither can destroy more than one-fourth of the other's population and industry. Would we be better off? Or would leaders in a crisis be willing to resort to nuclear arms because now they would know that civilization could not be wiped off the map? Some facile solution can make the nuclear world a less stable one in which to live.

There are two other points that I think need to be made about these amendments.

First, they are not simple or simplistic. This country craves some comprehensive way out of the arms control thicket with its maze of intricate concepts, and counting systems. That is what gave birth to the freeze movement. It answered the public cry for some clear means to voice its firm advocacy of arms control as a priority on the national agenda. In talking about a dozen different amendments, I am certainly not helping the cause of simplicity. But the choice is really between advocacy of tactical arms control or resort to rhetoric that is not merely simple, but also simplistic. I feel we have the responsibility to opt for the former, even though we may still pay appropriate obeisance at the altar of the latter.

Second, and most importantly, these proposals are aimed at providing genuine stability in the strategic realm. Their goal is to make it less likely that anyone would resort to nuclear arms in a crisis.

They are geared to allow both the Soviet and American leaderships to act more calmly in the difficult moments that will undoubtedly confront us in the decades to come.

They are geared to eliminate those fears that "if I don't use it, I'll lose it."

They are not part of some neat numbers game, but rather a package of concepts that can give the superpower relationship some stability regardless of the weapons system bean count. ●

INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, last February the Joint Economic Committee

issued "Hard Choices," a report which outlined the increasing gap between America's infrastructure needs and our ability to pay for them. Based on a survey of 23 States, the study estimated that between now and the year 2000 the United States faces a spending gap of about \$450 billion on infrastructure requirements. Though large, we believe that represents a manageable sum, and have proposed that the Congress establish a national infrastructure fund to help meet them. The details of the proposal as well as the survey of our infrastructure needs are available from the Joint Economic Committee.

The longer we delay addressing these needs, the more expensive the task will become. Because our economy depends upon a sound infrastructure, we cannot afford to shirk our responsibility. The question is when—not if—we decide to invest in capital improvements and expansion. Although the needs are different in each area of the country, in no State are they not urgent and widespread.

The public is becoming aware of the problem. A recent article, "Infrastructure-Up-Date," by Walter D. Munn, which appeared in the May issue of *Highway and Heavy Construction*, defines the issue very well. It discusses three recent studies of the Nation's needs, including the JEC's, and outlines what Congress and the States have done and are doing to meet them.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the text of the article in the RECORD:

INFRASTRUCTURE UP-DATE

(By Walter D. Munn, P.E.)

Repairing America's Infrastructure will be expensive. Cost estimates vary from \$1 to \$3 trillion. That's not due to sloppy estimating. It's due to the fact that all estimates do not embrace the total infrastructure. Some forecasters look at those parts likely to involve federal funds and ignore all others. Others have adopted cost formulae that now appear to be high. But whichever of the estimates you look at, the investment to be made is huge and the types of work almost endless.

Where all the money will come from is not yet clear. There have been some tentative steps to arrange funding but none go far enough. The Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982 increased federal highway funding by about 50 percent, or another \$4 plus billion per year. A step in the right direction, but this does not meet the needs. Some 45 states have increased their highway financing, but only by about enough to meet the newly authorized federal funds. State roads will not receive enough. Airport funding appears sufficient now that the tax on tickets has been restored. There is no engine to crank out money for waterways, ports and harbors so that funding here will likely remain insufficient.

Water and sewer needs also lack a central financing source. Federal money is available

in part, but does not meet the need. The federal government takes the view that the repair of many elements of the Infrastructure is a local responsibility. One suggested source of funds is a Federal Infrastructure Bank that would loan funds for rehabilitation. Failing this, state Infrastructure banks may be created. Fed initially by apportioned funds, these banks would eventually make new loans as they recover old lendings.

The Associated General Contractors defined and quantified Infrastructure needs in a November 1982 report, *Our Fractured Framework—Why America Must Rebuild*.

A May, 1983 up-date, *America's Infrastructure, A Plan to Rebuild*, gauged the size of the problem at about \$3 trillion over the last two decades of the century.

Since then, two other major studies have emerged, both having more confined scopes and measures of those needs. There has also been a flurry of federal and state legislation under the Infrastructure banner. We'll try to bring all of these events into sharper focus here.

WHAT DOES INFRASTRUCTURE MEAN?

Infrastructure, the new buzzword, has many definitions.

The AGC reports define Infrastructure as, "the nation's system of public facilities, both publically and privately funded, which provide for the delivery of essential services and a sustained standard of living." That definition includes railroads and a variety of public buildings.

The U.S. Congressional Budget Office (CBO), in an April 1983 report, *Public Works Infrastructure: Policy Considerations for the 1980's*, defines Infrastructure as highways, public transit, wastewater treatment works, water resources, airports and air traffic control systems, and municipal water supply, all of which are included in the AGC definition. But CBO excludes railroads and public buildings.

The Joint Economic Committee (JEC) of Congress, in a February 1984 report, titled "Hard Choices," defines Infrastructure as "the basic network of facilities that drive our economy: our transportation, water and wastewater systems." It is similar to CBO's definition and excludes railroads and public buildings.

If Senate Bill S. 1330, the "Public Works and Improvement Act of 1984," is passed as expected later this year, it will require consistent inventories of existing and needed public works investments encompassing the federal, state and local levels of government. It defines "public works improvements as being facilities owned or operated by federal, state and local levels of government or other public agency or authority." It includes railroads, public buildings and "resource recovery facilities."

So until a single definition is adopted, make sure you know what is—and isn't—included in "infrastructure."

HOW GREAT ARE THE NEEDS?

The magnitude of these needs, obviously, varies with the definition of Infrastructure. Table I is arranged to summarize cost data on those needs from the AGC, CBO and JEC reports in a similar manner. While the differences in this data seem large, that all show need for greatly increased investment at the "Public Works" level.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

COMPARISON OF INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS ESTIMATE COST DATA

June 6, 1984

[In billions of 1982 dollars]

Infrastructure element	AGC's "America's Infrastructure"			CBO's "report annual needs"	JEC's "Hard Choices"		Approximate capital outlays (all levels of government)	
	Total needs (2000±)	Years	Annual needs		Total needs (2000)	Annual needs	1981 ⁴	1984 ⁵
FA highways, local roads	\$1,570.3	25	\$62.8	\$20.7				
Local bridges FA bridges	51.7	(20)	2.6	2.5				
Roads and bridges	1,622.0		65.4	27.2	720	42.5	19.3	23.7
Airports and airways	60.3	25	2.4	2.3			1.4	1.4
Public transit	37.2	9	4.1	5.5			2.6	3.7
Waterways and ports	51.2	21	4.9	0.5			1.6	1.6
Other transport	148.7		11.4	8.3	178	\$10.5	5.6	6.7
Dam safety	50.5	10	5.0	0.7				
Dams and reservoirs	33.0	10	3.3	2.9			0.6	0.6
Water supply	138.6	20	6.9	7.7	96	5.6	3.8	3.8
FA Wastewater Treatment	118.4	20	5.9	6.6	163	9.6	6.9	6.9
Water Resources	340.5		21.1	17.9	259	15.2	11.3	11.3
Grand totals	2,112.2		97.9	53.4	1,157	68.1	36.2	41.7
Local wastewater	389.4	20	19.5					
Local drain/ flood	169.4	30	5.6					
Railroads	60.1	10	6.0					
Public housing	112.0	10	11.2					
Other public buildings	189.0		19.1					
Other public work	919.9		61.4					
AGC grand total	3,032.1		159.3					

¹ AGC's May 1983 America's Infrastructure: A Plan To Rebuild, pages 5-8.² CBO's April 1983 Public Works Infrastructure: Policy Considerations for the 1980's, pages 8, 9 and others.³ JEC's Feb. 1984 Hard Choices, a Summary Report of the National Infrastructure Study, page 5.⁴ JEC's Feb. 1984 Hard Choices, supplemental data, pages V-5 and V-6.⁵ Same as preceding column, but with addition of \$4.4 billion for Roads & Bridges and \$1.1 billion for Public Transit to reflect the effects of STAA's nickel a gallon added fuel tax.

"Annual capital outlays by all levels of government have to increase from \$36 billion to roughly \$53 billion between 1983 and 1990," says the CBO report, the most conservative of the three. The comparable annual capital outlay needs are \$68 billion in the JEC study and \$98 billion in the AGC analysis.

The AGC study, for instance, summarizes "Needs" estimates prepared by various public agencies. Their costs for highways comes from a National Transportation Policy Study Committee report developed in 1976-79. These costs are at least twice those in FHWA's May 1983 report, "Status of the Nation's Highways: Conditions and Performance."

The AGC listings include local wastewater and drainage facilities, both of which are omitted from CBO's estimate, and public buildings which CBO and JEC exclude by definition.

The CBO study neglects local public works not involving federal aid. It also explores the effects of changed national policies with particular emphasis on decreasing the federal level of financing through increased user fees, better targeting of federal dollars, and limited federal funding.

One specific policy considered is reducing the federal financial share for Interstate reconstruction to 25 percent, but maintaining a 90 percent share for Interstate repair. Another is relaxing federal regulations governing wastewater treatment.

The JEC "Hard Choices" data comes from separate analyses of defined needs in 23 states. The results of those analyses are then expanded to approximate the nation's total needs.

Despite its derivation, the JEC costs are somewhere between the AGC figures—which appear high, at least for highways—and the CBO data, which seems low. The JEC report also concludes that Congress should:

Establish a "National Infrastructure Fund" to supplement resources available under existing federal, state and local infrastructure capital programs.

Require a coordinated national infrastructure needs assessment program.

Initiate a review of technical standards now governing construction of the nation's roads, bridges, transit systems, water and wastewater facilities.

Re-evaluate the statutory and administrative rules that govern existing federal infrastructure assistance programs.

WHAT IS CONGRESS DOING?

It's wrestling with legislation on many fronts bearing on the nation's infrastructure. In February, it finally passed stopgap Interstate Cost Estimate (ICE) legislation enabling FHWA to spend the first part of the funds collected under the additional nickel a gallon gas tax established in the Surface Transportation Assistance Act (STAA) of 1982.

That starts to increase the federal share of capital improvement funding for highways and bridges from about \$8.7 to \$13.1 billion per year. But further legislation is needed this year to keep those additional funds flowing, and the nickel a gallon tax increase will expire in 1987 unless extended or replaced by a long-term program to meet the needs of the nation's transportation system.

S. 1739—the Water Resources Development Act of 1983—provides \$8 billion for waterway and harbor improvements over a five year program. It includes \$1.1 billion for 13 new waterway projects, \$6 billion for 96 specified Corps of Engineer undertakings, and \$900 million for 22 harbor projects.

This bill, a generally similar HR 3678 "Omnibus" bill, or some combination of the two, is expected to pass this year. It should provide some continuity to a waterways program that has been on a stop-and-go basis since the mid-1970's.

But the big news in our view (see Editorial) is S. 1330—the Public Works Improvement Act of 1984—which has passed the Senate and is scheduled for House action this summer. It doesn't provide additional financing; it does establish the procedures necessary for a comprehensive public works program to meet the nation's infrastructure needs.

It creates a National Council to work with the Corps of Engineers to establish consistent inventories of existing and needed public works investments at all levels of government, using the broad "Infrastructure" definition described earlier. This bill also requires identification of capital investments in each National budget on or after Jan. 1, 1985.

A proposal to establish a National Infrastructure Bank to assist local agencies in financing infrastructure improvements at low rates of interest was dropped from an earlier version of S. 1330 because of concern about the current budget deficits.

Instead, those general provisions have been reintroduced now in the Senate as S. 2151—the Public Works Capital Investment Act of 1984. This bill requires that at least half of the funds obligated to any state in any year be used to rehabilitate public capital investments. The bill, which is not expected to pass Congress this year, authorizes \$2.5 billion income annually from general revenue for three years.

WHAT ARE THE STATES DOING?

They are raising taxes to meet current needs, preparing for the likelihood of a larger bill for a larger share of infrastructure costs in the future, and breaking ground for state-level infrastructure banks to help provide a ready source of cash.

In 1983, 26 states passed bills to increase their revenues. That comes on top of other revenue increases in 34 states during 1981 and 18 states in 1982.

In 1983, motor fuel tax increased by two to six cents a gallon in 13 states (Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin). Six other states (Florida, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Washington and West Virginia) adjusted fuel tax ceilings and/or added wholesale level fuel taxes resulting in increases of a penny or more per gallon. License fees or other forms of vehicle use charges increased in Arkansas, Iowa, Missouri, New York and North Carolina, and in some of the states increasing or adjusting motor fuel taxes.

Some of these increases in annual revenues are large—\$535 million in Michigan, \$330 million in New York, \$237 million in Florida and \$153 million in Pennsylvania, for instance. Other increases—actually very sizeable revenue jumps in states with smaller budgets—include \$50 million in West Virginia, nearly \$50 million in Colorado, \$30 million in Montana, \$27 million in Maine and more than \$21 million in Arkansas.

Several states also passed major bond issues late in 1983, in addition to these revenue increases. They include Maine (\$24.6 million), Massachusetts (\$1.25 billion), New Jersey (\$320 million), New York (\$1.25 billion) and Rhode Island (\$153 million).

The Massachusetts bond issue of \$517 million is coupled with another \$729 million in matching funds to make up the \$1.25 billion restorative package. About \$630 million will go for state highway and bridge programs, with \$566 million going to the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, the public transit authority for the Boston area.

New Jersey's \$320 million bond issue covers bridge repair (\$1.35 million), shore protection (\$50 million), and recreational areas (\$135 million).

These increases in state level revenues are continuing in 1984. The first step in a new motor fuel tax increase in Oregon occurred earlier this year. Further increases either have taken or will take effect this year in Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Washington and Wisconsin.

The Oklahoma Water Resources Board recently floated a \$50 million bond issue to help municipalities in the state to finance needed water and sewage projects. Municipal water and sewer needs in the state are expected to total about \$250 million over the next three years.

Connecticut's Governor William O'Neill recently announced a proposed \$5.5 billion, 10-year program to up-grade its transportation system. About \$3.4 billion would come from federal or local shares, with \$2.1 billion as the state's share. About one-fourth that total can be considered as ongoing expense, with the remainder financed by Special Obligation bonds supported by new Motor Fuel Taxes. If passed by the General Assembly, Connecticut's gasoline tax would increase from 14 cents a gallon now to 17 cents in July and, by stages, to 24 cents a gallon by 1994.

At least two proposals to establish state Infrastructure banks are going forward. The New Jersey Infrastructure Bank and the New York-New Jersey Port Authority's Regional Development Bank could both materialize if Congress doesn't establish something soon at the National level.

Many states are increasing their revenues to meet growing needs for rebuilding highways, bridges and other parts of their Infrastructure. But some states are lagging, and nearly all could use greater federal direction and commitment in meeting other needs,

particularly in public buildings and drainage.

The rebuilding of the nation's Infrastructure isn't impossible. Both the CBO and JEC reports conclude that the problems are "manageable." So let's get organized and get on with the job; let's really put America's Task Force back to work!

A PROPOSAL FOR MORE EFFECTIVE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

HON. THOMAS J. DOWNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DOWNEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a stimulating article written by Dr. Harry Szmant, who has recently retired as professor and chairman of the department of chemistry and chemical engineering at the University of Detroit. This article, entitled "Foreign Aid Programs Without Biomass Utilization?", appeared in the May 1984 issue of *American Laboratory*.

Dr. Szmant has drawn on his extensive experience in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic to raise the question of whether the United States, through its aid programs, can do more to promote the more efficient use of biological resources in the Caribbean region—and indeed all developing countries—in order to provide a stronger and more secure basis for economic development.

Mr. Speaker, I was particularly struck by the fact that since this article appeared there has been a number of civil disturbances in the Dominican Republic because of food shortages and the impending austerity programs which were being considered by the Dominican Government in response to the demands of the International Monetary Fund. I was in the Dominican Republic in December and was encouraged by the strong democratic tradition on which the Government hoped to base its plans for economic development. I was also struck by the rich agricultural potential of the Dominican Republic and wondered if there were not more that we could do, by more sharply targeting our aid programs, to assist the Dominican people to exploit their agricultural resources more fully. I know that the Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island has been involved in exploring the potential of biomass use in developing countries and I hope that these efforts bear fruit.

I encourage my colleagues to read Dr. Szmant's article and I hope they find it as rewarding as I did.

FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS WITHOUT BIOMASS UTILIZATION?

(By H. Harry Szmant)

The Caribbean Basin Initiative and the Kissinger Commission Report on Central America are stimulating much public debate concerning the nature and magnitude of foreign aid designed to maintain the security of the United States in this vital geopolitical area. It is generally agreed that the current and predicted future unrest in the Americas feeds on the hopeless economic conditions of the rural and urban masses. It is also agreed that the "stabilization" of the Caribbean and Central America can be only temporary unless the question of the quality of life of the poor majority is addressed in a successful manner. Hence the proposed investments in education, health facilities, and other social programs seek to benefit the masses.

The United States cannot easily control the internal policies and judicial systems of sovereign countries except through financial rewards for those programs that are in harmony with an improvement of human conditions. The reward system can also be used to guide the planning of all development initiatives. To perform this task adequately, we must possess the wisdom to focus on those measures that sooner, rather than later, determine the rate of socioeconomic progress.

With minor exceptions—bauxite in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic and some gold in the latter—the Caribbean and Central America lack the more valuable commodities such as petroleum and coal. The foremost resource of the region is a bountiful flora that has, in fact, led to an historical dependence on biomass in the form of sugar cane, bananas, coffee, cacao, a variety of tuberous vegetables, and other tropical and semitropical staple crops. Central America has been and still is a source of hardwoods, but in general only lip service is paid to the idea of reforestation or the creation of forestry resources. It seems obvious that these are the primary economic activities that need to be intensified and made more productive. In this way, the population that labors in such activities may benefit from the potential wealth to be derived from biomass production and transformation. This also requires, of course, that the appropriate agrarian policies are in place. It seems logical that our foreign aid initiatives should concentrate on these rate-determining economic measures through the introduction of advanced agricultural and silvicultural practices. At the same time, however, we must go beyond the mere cultivation of biomass commodities and promote the application of modern chemical technology capable of transforming either the low-cost commodities, their co-products, or wastes into value-added products useful in the economy as industrial materials, fuels, animal feeds, and so on. The leaders and middle managers of the developing countries must be made aware of the potential economic benefits that can be derived from such chemical transformation of biomass so that their thinking, planning, and programming concentrate simultaneously on the three-pronged production of foods, fuels, and materials of interest to industry.

In the past, our foreign aid programs have lacked initiatives to influence the decision makers of the less developed countries (LDCs) and to train their technical personnel in the utilization of biomass resources. There is little evidence that the decision

makers throughout the Americas are aware of the significant economic opportunities that are being overlooked. To cite just two examples, the presence of 50,000 U.S. Marines in the Dominican Republic in the 1960s may have temporarily prevented that country from becoming a political adversary to the United States. Twenty-some years later the economy of that country is faltering in great part because of its dependence on sugar exports: the world market price of less than 7¢ per pound for sugar falls quite short of the production costs of 17¢ per pound. At the same time, there has existed since 1975 a physically magnificent installation in Santo Domingo known as INDOTEC (Dominican Industrial Technology Laboratory) that could and should have, by now, developed local expertise to use sugar cane for fuel, the production of detergents, plasticizers, ingredients for coatings and other polymers, and many other value-added products. At this writing, the Dominican Republic has not reappeared prominently in news headlines and commentaries because we observe a tranquil succession of governments and have not been made aware of any human rights violations. However, the lack of appropriate technological components in our foreign aid programs will predictably lead this and other countries down the path of economic crises and political chaos.

Another example of missed economic opportunities that occur in the vacuum of technological emphasis of our foreign aid policy is the recent cancellation by the government of Uruguay of the unprecedented effort to create in Montevideo a center of science and technology. The government apparently has opted for other priorities on which to spend the \$14 million allocated to match the \$32.5 million investment of the Inter-American Bank for Development appropriated in 1980 for this project. For a country of barely 3 million people blessed with some highly educated scientists and engineers who might have rallied around the proposed technological facility, this cancellation signifies the loss of a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. This assumes, of course, that the proposed center indeed would have focused its activities on the promotion of industries based on the abundant agricultural resources of Uruguay. Our media and political establishment seem to be concerned primarily with the return of the electoral process in Uruguay as if that change, per se, would guarantee a sound economic future. Meanwhile, that once shiny example of democracy has very democratically legislated itself into bankruptcy.

In countries where populations aspire actively to a better economic condition, it is no longer possible to attain reasonable prosperity merely by cultivation of cheap agricultural commodities for export along with crude mineral products. Thus, our international efforts to promote a better life for the poor are doomed to fail unless they include the formation of sound economies based on the above-mentioned technological transformations. We Americans may be slow to realize this necessity because our own technologies have developed with such momentum that we tend to take them for granted. In the matter of biomass utilization, petroleum and natural gas eclipsed the chemurgical beginnings of some fifty years ago. Although now on an increase, agricultural feed stocks contribute only about 4% of the total of value-added industrial materials. Despite that course of development in this country, the United States should exert its influence through diplomatic persuasion

and funding so that foreign aid projects with appropriate, pragmatic technological components are well received. It is doubtful that most members of our political, bureaucratic, banking, and communication establishments would, on their own, engage in a concerted effort to do so. Therefore, we scientists, America's scientific and technical resources, should take every possible opportunity to influence our non-technical compatriots so that their thinking and actions may be conducive to long range, economic growth-promoting programs. For most developing countries, foreign aid programs without biomass utilization will certainly fail to achieve a fundamental objective: specifically, a better life for the poor of these nations and, generally, a more stable socio-political environment among our neighbors. ●

CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO THE PASSAIC COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY UPON THE CELEBRATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LAMBERT CASTLE MUSEUM, PAT-ERSON, NJ

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, in reflecting upon the history of our great country and the deeds of our people who have made our representative democracy second to none among all nations throughout the world, I am pleased to call your attention to a gala celebration commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Passaic County Historical Society's Museum and Home at Lambert Castle, a magnificent stone edifice built in 1892 on Garret Mountain in the city of Paterson, NJ, housing historic statuary, collections and exhibits depicting the richness of our cultural heritage and the historic advancements of America.

Mr. Speaker. At the outset, let me commend to you the diligence, foresight and hard work that has been extended by the officers, trustees, staff and volunteers comprising the Passaic County Historical Society and the Lambert Castle Museum 50th Anniversary Committee. In observance of the golden anniversary of the Lambert Castle Museum, they have been working with many of the leading citizens in our State in devising an outstanding program and seeking full citizens' participation in a comprehensive schedule of lectures, tours, concerts and special events throughout the year highlighted by a festive gala celebration at the castle on Saturday, June 9 in the style of the builder and founding owner of Lambert Castle, Catholina Lambert, reminiscent of the period during the turn of the century.

PASSAIC COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS

The Honorable: Ruth Fern, President; Alvin Blau, Executive Vice President; Delight Dodyk, Vice President; Russell Frignoca, Treasurer; William Adshead, Secretary.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Honorable: William Adshead, Flavia Alaya, Alvin Blau, Jo Ann Cotz, Delight Dodyk, Ruth Fern, Fletcher Fish, Russell Frignoca, John Herbst, Stanley Lacz, Edward J. Lenik, Robert Macfarlan, Norman Robertson, William O. Storch.

STAFF

The Honorable: Catherine Keene, Director; Barbara Rivolta, Assistant Director, Jim Levendusky, Jim De Sopo, Virginia Peterson.

VOLUNTEERS

The Honorable: Nina Browne, Dee's Florist, West Paterson; Harriet Frederickson, Miriam Kurinsky, Verah Links, Laura Neal, Frances Peacock, Jessica Peters, Eliud Troncosco, Elizabeth Van Hook, Jim Ward, Z Club of Paul VI Regional High School, Annita Zalenski, Raymond Zardetto.

LAMBERT CASTLE MUSEUM 50TH ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

The Honorable: Delight Dodyk, Chair; William Adshead, Flavia Alaya, Alvin Blau, Jo Ann Cotz, Ruth Fern, Fletcher Fish, Russell Frignoca, John Herbst, Catherine Keene, Stanley Lacz, Edward Lenik, Robert Macfarlan, Christine Riedl, Barbara Rivolta, Norman Robertson, William Storch, Stephen van Cline, Raymond Zardetta, Ed Smyk, Passaic County Historian.

Mr. Speaker, with your permission I would like to insert at this point in our historic journal of Congress a profile on the early beginnings and establishment of the Passaic County Historical Society, the Lambert Castle, the Lambert Castle Museum, its library and archives which will be cited during this golden anniversary celebration, as follows:

THE PASSAIC COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A historical society is not a mere antiquarian's attic. It is the combined memory of a community, and speaks their conviction that the debt they owe to the past is no less sacred than the debt they owe to the present and future. This conviction inspired the creation and establishment of the Passaic County Historical Society.

The Passaic County Historical Society was founded in 1926 and since 1934 has had its museum and offices in Lambert Castle, the magnificent brownstone and granite structure built by the late nineteenth century silk magnate, Catholina Lambert.

Today, in an era of increasing historic awareness, the Society looks forward to playing an even more vital role in communicating and sharing its cultural objectives with every interested citizen. These objectives are to cultivate an active public interest in the history of Passaic County, to preserve the materials that tell this history, and to make these available through exhibits, lectures, tours and publications.

The Passaic County Historical Society collects, preserves and interprets the history and heritage of Passaic County and surrounding areas. Through its programs, exhibits and research facilities this most prestigious organization dedicated to the preser-

vation of our people's historic treasures and enrichment of our cultural heritage serves a wide and varied audience from school children to nationally renowned scholars.

LAMBERT CASTLE

Lambert Castle is on Valley Road in Paterson, New Jersey approximately 10 miles west of New York City. It looks out over the City of Paterson from a rocky incline of Garret Mountain with picturesque views of the City of Paterson, the Ramapos and the New York City skyline. Built between 1890-1893 as a residence for silk-magnate Catholina Lambert and his family, "Belle Vista" (as the castle was then known) still provides much of its original grandeur.

To understand the present, it is important to remember the past and in reflecting on the magnificence of the castle-like structure, it is important to ponder on the background of the founder and builder of this historic landmark.

In 1884, a 10-year-old Yorkshire lad named Catholina Lambert went to work in a cotton mill. Seven years later, he sailed for America where, in due course, he became co-owner of a silk firm. The business prospered and in the manner of America's successful 19th-century industrialists, Lambert built himself an imposing residence overlooking Paterson, New Jersey to resemble Warwick Castle in his native England. The castle-like structure satisfied Lambert's craving for the life of an English aristocrat, while almost providing space for his collection of European paintings, sculpture and antiques. It's monumental style was Lambert's way of laying claim, through the birthright of new-world money, to the glories of an ancestral English nobility.

His collection of statuary and European paintings reached such a size that in 1896 he built a 100-foot-long colonnaded hall adjoining the north side of the present building. The silk strikes of 1912-1913 and the invention of rayon led to the demise of silk manufacturing in Paterson, and 365 paintings and many pieces of statuary were sold off in 1916 to satisfy Mr. Lambert's creditors. In 1923, he died in the castle at the age of 88, and in 1936 the addition that housed his collection was torn down.

The remainder of Lambert's lovingly assembled and richly representative collection of European paintings was auctioned off after his death. Ownership of his home, "Lambert's Castle," passed to local government and became headquarters for the Passaic County Historical Society.

Today, the rich architectural details of the exterior evoke the Medieval castles that Lambert remembered from his childhood in Britain. The interior reflects the opulent taste of the late nineteenth century and includes carved woodwork, coffered ceilings, gesso walls, marble flooring imported from the Alps and fireplaces with gilt-painted tulip wood fireplace mantels.

LAMBERT CASTLE MUSEUM

Lambert Castle, in its role as the Passaic County museum, is the repository of many items of unique and lasting historical significance. Opened to the public in 1934, it has every year since then served tens of thousands of visitors and researchers. The museum's collections extend from the Colonial and Federal eras through the 19th and 20th centuries—and industrial and technological age intimately connected with the rise of men like Catholina Lambert.

The scenic beauty and raw power of the spectacular Great Falls of the Passaic River, responsible for so much of this region's de-

velopment, are captured in an unusual range of paintings, engravings, and photographs. Other collections illustrate the rich and elegant craftsmanship in silk, lace, marble, woodwork and stained glass, which was brought to America by gifted immigrant workers in response to the patronage of a prosperous local elite. Collections of historic photographs, souvenir objects, posters and advertising art evoke the days when Paterson was a popular tourist mecca and "Silk City" of the world.

It is interesting to note that on April 14, 1984 a major exhibition opened at the Lambert Castle Museum, the American Labor Museum and the Paterson Museum. Called "Life and Times in Silk City," it gives a comprehensive view of the silk industry in turn-of-the-century Paterson and its importance to the lives of the residents of "Silk City." The exhibit will run through April 1985. The life-styles and concerns of the silk mill owners are interpreted at the Lambert Castle Museum. Period photographs, objects and works of art which once belonged to some of the city's industrialists are also on display in the "court" and music room. Of course, the centerpiece of the exhibit is Lambert Castle itself.

Amateur historian, professional scholar and genealogical researcher alike will find excellent potential in the library and archives of the Lambert Castle Museum: 20,000 manuscripts, pamphlets and maps; 2,500 rare newspaper volumes, and a constantly expanding reference library. The student of the Paterson silk industry may want to explore some of the museum's collection of silk samples. This superb collection represents an excellent overview of weaving and design techniques since the mid-19th century.

The museum houses a unique and diversified collection of fine and decorative arts, artifacts, photographs, and documents including over 60,000 silk samples from the Paterson silk industry, 10,000 photographs, hundreds of paintings and prints, advertising art, silver souvenir spoons, period furniture, and many other items of historical interest.

The Passaic County Historical Society's paper collections are one of its most distinctive resources. The archives includes the Gledhill-SUM collection which documents the industrial foundation of Paterson, unpublished Alexander Hamilton and Pierre L'Enfant correspondence, papers of the Colt pistol family, and Abraham Hewitt papers that help trace the iron industry in Passaic County. The society also has a library of local and New Jersey history and a fine genealogical collection.

Mr. Speaker, the Passaic County Historical Society is dedicated to promoting research and publication in all areas of Passaic County history which is steeped in the history of the early settlers of our country and richly endowed with America's historic beginnings. Their members have sought and achieved a quality of excellence in historic preservation at the Lambert Castle. In commemorating their museum's historic observance, I appreciate the opportunity to present the foregoing to you and seek this national recognition of the leadership endeavors manifested by the foresight and expertise of the Passaic County Historical Society and the lasting achievements that can be attained with people work-

ing together in a common endeavor—all contributing to the American way of life and the American dream. We do indeed salute the members of the Passaic County Historical Society and their anniversary committee upon this commemorative observance and celebration of the 50th golden anniversary of the Lambert Castle Museum. ●

FORTUNE COOKIES AND CIGARETTES

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I bring to the attention of my colleagues Ellen Goodman's column, "Fortune Cookies and Cigarettes" which appeared in the Washington Post on May 26.

Ms. Goodman's commentary speaks well to the need for enactment of Congressman WAXMAN's cigarette labeling bill which is currently pending consideration by the full House. I hope my colleagues will enjoy Ms. Goodman's article, and be subsequently moved to support my colleague from California in his worthy effort.

[From the Washington Post, May 26, 1984]

FORTUNE COOKIES AND CIGARETTES

(By Ellen Goodman)

Scene I: The two handsome young men in their fashionable gear are resting at the top of the rock-climb. A rope dangles over the precipice in the rugged southwestern canyon country. The winsome twosome look into the distance, their hair attractively windblown, cigarettes, sticking out of their mouths. It's Winston, "America's Best."

Scene II: The young man and woman are playing in a tree. He is hanging upside down, she is hanging right side up. What fun they are having with their jeans and their energy. They are Newport Smokers, "Alive with Pleasure!"

Scene III: The young woman is standing in her formal gown on the long, winding staircase, her white fur coat draped casually behind her. In front of her, a tuxedo-clad man romantically lights her cigarette. It's Benson & Hedges, "The Deluxe 100."

There are other scenes in the endless saga of cigarette commercials that flicker through the magazines and billboards of our lives: the Kent man, bare-chested in tennis duds, whose only health problem is suggested by a knee support. The Players crowd at the local Yuppie bar. The Vantage smoker lighting up after her exercise class.

But one thing remains constant through all these changing pictures of the good life: a small rectangular dissent that says, "Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health."

In the years since this little corner of concern was permanently installed on the upbeat sales images of smoking, it has become virtually invisible. We are barely aware of any irony when an ad that promises to make us "Alive!" also carries a medical warning of danger.

Today, 20 years after the first Surgeon General's report documented the health effects of smoking, one-third of American adults still smoke cigarettes. Today, as the latest report shows in utterly convincing detail how smoking costs and kills, almost one-quarter of high-school seniors have taken up the habit.

Now Congress is trying to claim a larger piece of the advertising space for health. If a pending bill passes Congress as quickly as it cleared the House committee, each package of cigarettes, each ad and each billboard will have larger warnings that rotate almost as often as the beautiful young stars of the cigarette scenes.

These will bear specific messages that smoking can cause lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema and pregnancy problems. They will include a warning about the risks of passive smoking and an upbeat injunction about the value of quitting. One admonition about cigarette addiction didn't make the list—the idea that cigarette smoking is an addiction. But in all, there are four warnings which would change, once every three months.

The rotating-message theory, dubbed the Fortune Cookie theory, came out of a behavioral study done by the Federal Trade Commission in 1979. As Commissioner Michael Pertschuk remembers, "The theory is that any repeated warning disappears, even a skull and crossbones. But if you continually rotate warnings, the place where the warning appears becomes a focal point of interest, like in a fortune cookie."

If I were writing messages for these misfortune cookies, they would rotate weekly. Each would be inscribed plainly with the name of a smoker who died of lung cancer or emphysema. From time to time, I might include the names of survivors.

It's not that I, or the members of Congress, believe too faithfully in the power of the written warning. There are addicts who smoke during cancer lectures. Indeed, there is something pathetic about pasting little warnings against smoking onto billion-dollar advertising campaigns in favor of smoking.

While we lobby for labels, cigarette manufacturers are giving away free samples, sponsoring rock concerts and sporting events for teens, and targeting the "growth market" of kids and young women. One benighted cigarette advertiser even placed a spot in a movie theater that was showing "Snow White."

If we are going to be a smoke-free country by the year 2000, as Surgeon General C. Everett Koop hopes, we need a combination of methods designed to make smoking unacceptable behavior. But labeling is at least a truth-in-advertising law. It's one small way that we inform any consumer who still doesn't know, about the risks of this deadly product. It's also a chance for the public to put its own stamp on cigarette smoking. The stamp says simply, "Don't." ●

LOYALTY DAY PARADE

HON. HENRY J. NOWAK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Speaker, the annual Loyalty Day celebration was established by Congress more than 30 years ago as an opportunity for our Nation to reaffirm our loyalty to our

flag and country. For three decades, the Veterans of Foreign Wars have had a Loyalty Day Parade or celebration in every State of the Union.

In Buffalo, NY, for the past 5 years, Comdr. Edward Sieracki of the Casimir Pulaski VFW Post has been the chairman of this event and this year he was chosen as the grand marshal of the Loyalty Day Parade.

This year's parade in my hometown was led by an escort division headed by a red, white, and blue-clad Uncle Sam portrayed by Len Furmanek. The escort division marchers were: Buffalo Police Department, Motorcycle and Mounted Division; Erie County Sheriff's Department; Casimir Pulaski VFW Color Guard; Congressman T. J. Dulski (retired), and Federal, State, county, and local officials.

Immediately following the escort division was the U.S. Marine Corps Color Guard Company I, 3d Battalion, 25th Marines, 4th Marine Division, FMF, USMCR. This unit composed of 180 marines gave a short drill in front of the reviewing stand. A plaque of recognition was presented to Capt. Walter A. Staheli III, escorted by S. Sgt. Gart D. Heacox and by Majority Leader Richard Slisz and legislator Henry Mazurek on behalf of the Erie County Legislature.

A history of the marine division follows:

The Marine reserve unit was first organized in Buffalo in February of 1950. It was designated the 6th 105mm Howitzer Battalion and was mobilized for the Korean Conflict. The unit was reestablished in Buffalo in May of 1952 and was redesignated as the 29th Special Infantry Company and was again redesignated in 1956 as the 29th Infantry Company. The 4th Marine Division was reorganized and the company was redesignated as "I" Company of the 3rd Battalion, 25th Marine Regiment. In October 1974 was transferred into the 1st Battalion of the 25th Marines and received the designation of "D" Company. Five years later, the unit was transferred back into the 3rd Battalion and has remained as India Company since that time.

Recent history has found India Company deploying to Europe in September of 1982 to participate in 2 NATO operations. In August of 1983, the unit underwent a Marine Corps Combat Readiness Evaluation Systems Test at Camp Ripley, Minnesota, with the 3rd Battalion and received a rating of combat ready. This was the 1st time in three years that a reserve infantry battalion had received this grade. During February of this year, the company participated in Teamwork-84, a NATO operation taking place in Norway north of the arctic circle. Indian Company spent 6 days in temperatures down to -40°F and moved through mountainous terrain in snow up to 5 feet deep.

Captain Philip A. Smeltzer is the Commanding Officer of India Company. It is located at the Navy/Marine Corps Reserve Training Center at 3 Porter Avenue.

The line of march in the parade had six divisions, each headed by two parade marshals listed as follows:

First Division—Charlotte Berry and Angelo Jones; Cheektowaga Central High School Band and Color Guard; Vietnam Vets of America—Marching Unit and Color Guard; Polish Veterans of W.W. 2, Post #33, Color Guard & Marching Unit; Unit 255 Colour Party; American Legion—Adam Plewacki Post #799-Color Guard; B. Leo Donovan Post #410—Color Guard; Imperial Knights Color Guard—Veteran Color Guard/Drill Team; Amvets Hank Nowak Post #45—Vet. Color Guard 4, Aux. Color Guard 4, Sad Sacks 8; M.J. Brounshide Post #205—Color Guard; Buffalo Fire Dept.—Fire Apparatus and Display Flag; John W. Danforth Company Horse drawn hitch wagon.

Second Division—Joanne Ostrowski and Don Custodi; Army—Navy 252 Honor Guard/Drill Team; 4th BDE, New York Guard—Color Guard, Marching Unit; Geriannettes (Senior Twirling, Junior Twirling, Pee Wees, Junior Drum Corps.); Niagara Univ. ROTC, Color Guard/Drill Team; WECK Radio (One Car with WECK Personalities); Chuck E. Cheese Pizza Time Theater (4 people w/truck); V.F.W. Post 4111 Drill Team—Vehicle and Senior Men's Rifle Drill Team; Polish Army Vets Assoc. District XII—Vets Color Guard; Polish Air Force Veterans Assoc.—Color Guard/Marching Unit; Buffalo Veterans Assoc.—Color Guard; East Buffalo Civic Assoc.; Daniel Michaloski—1898 Horse and Surry Restored; School #80 Eagle Squad Drill Team; Assoc. of Polish Democrats of Erie County; Auxiliary Fire Corp.—Members and Fire Apparatus; Polish American Voice—Float.

Third Division—Maureen Ratka and Jerry Eron; Ismailia Temple Color Guard Legion of Honor; Ismailia—Provost Guard (Motorcycle Unit); Ismailia Motor Corps.; Gowanda Shrine Mini Corps.; Ismailia Temple Mini Kar; Shrine Horse Patrol; Ismailia Shrine Clowns; Yoshi Keystone Cops.

Fourth Division—Emily Krzykowski and Edward Noga; Memorial Post #1313 Catholic War Veterans Color Guard; Alhambra Moorish Band (Marching Band); J. Michael Hens V.F.W. Memorial Post—Color Guard; Girl Scout Council of Buffalo and Erie County; Pioneer District B.S.A.—Boy Scouts and Cubs; Silver Wheels Football Inc.—30 handicapped football players and cheerleaders; Girl Scout Troop 662—Brownie Troop and Float; Girl Scout Troop 1451, 45, 666—Marching Unit; Girl Scout Troop 70 Brownies #764—Marchers; St. John Gualbert's Cieszyn Dancers; International Institute of Buffalo—Van and marchers.

Fifth Division—Gloria Krupski and Jim Tycz; U.S.S. Maine V.F.W. Post; Spectrum Szczesliwe Dancers—Dance Troupe; Invaders Senior Drum; American Legion Post #928—Color Guard; American Legion Post #1640; Carousel Skating Center; Fantasy Island (Coloyopie Float, Specialty Vehicle); Crusaders Drill Team; Polish Community Center (Polish Folk Dance Group); Jessica Harting "Little Miss International"; Saturday Morning Polish School; Sheriff's Dept.; American Red Cross (Mobile Van); Niagara Candy—Float; Ronald McDonald House—Van.

Sixth Division—Jewel Bartkowski and Don Pieczynski; Downtown Post #64 American Legion Color Guard; Buffalo Squad No. 1 Civil Air Patrol—Color Guard/Drill Team; Maverick Drum Corps.; Rockin Rustlers (Non military drill team); Wendy's—Employees; Polish Falcons Nest 6—Float, Folk Dancers, Tumbling; Kensington Drill Team; Vengeance Jr. Drum Corps.; St. Stan's

School—Marching Unit; Italian Village Council—Queen and her Court; Evans Center Vol. Fire Dept.—Marching Unit; Brockton Fire Co.—Antique handdrawn hose cart—original equipment “1896” Circa; Corful Rescue Hook and Ladder; Dropiks—Billy O’s—Antique Automobiles; Al Maza—1924 Ford Antique Car; Niagara Frontier Transportation Authority Metro Bus.

Each unit had to pass the reviewing stand a short distance from the termination point, where announcer Don Postles of WKBW-TV identified each unit as it passed. Standing in front of the reviewing stand were Col. Matt Gajewski (retired) and Brig. William Cybulski, NYSG (retired), saluting the colors of each veteran’s group as it passed.

During the field of march, members of the Loyalty Day Parade Committee and veterans distributed 3,000 small American flags to spectators. These were donated by American Veterans Service Foundation through Hank Nowak Amvets Post in Buffalo, represented by past Comdr. Leon Gubala.

The judging of the parade units was conducted by Firemen’s Parade Association, Western Division.

The winners in various categories were listed as follows in the editions of the Buffalo News:

LOYALTY DAY PARADE WINNERS LISTED

The Western New York Loyalty Day Parade Committee, which sponsored the downtown Buffalo parade along Broadway April 29, has announced the following winners:

Junior Drum Corps—Vengeance; High School Bands—Cheektowaga Central; Men’s Drill Teams—first, VFW Post 411, second, Niagara University ROTC; Youth Drill Teams—first, Crusaders, second, Imperial Knights.

Veterans Color Guards—first, Brownshilde Post 205, second, Dolan Post 410, third, Memorial Post 1313; Other Color Guards—first, Niagara University, second, Ismailia Temple, third, Imperial Knights; Longest distance—VFW 411 of Lisbon, Ohio.

Most in Line—Company I, 25th Marines; Senior Twirling Corps—Gerianettes; Junior Twirling Corps—Gerianettes, who also won the Peeewe Division. Boy Scouts—first and second, Pioneer District Boy Scouts and Cubs; Girl Scouts, Campfire and Bluebirds—first, Girl Scout Troop 70, second, Troops 1451, 1446 and 666, third, Troop 662.

Specialty Groups—first, Ismailia Clowns, second, Spectrum Dancers, third, Polish Center Folk Dancers.

Motorized Units—first, Ismailia Motor Corps, second, Ismailia Provost Guard, third, Gowanda Mini Corps.

Floats—first, Niagara Candy, second, Polish Faclons, third, Fantasy Island.

Veterans Marching Unit—first, Company I, 25th Marines, second, Vietnam Veterans of America; Cadence—first, Buffalo Mavericks, second, Gerianettes.

The Loyalty Day Parade should remind us of the American flag, symbol of our strong commitment to democratic institutions and country. Loyalty Day is an occasion for us to reaffirm our allegiance to the flag and to remember those who fought to defend it.

We may best thank our veterans for the sacrifices they have made to preserve freedom by pledging our allegiance to the flag.●

A SECOND GENERATION TO REMEMBER

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the remarks made by my friend, Benjamin Meed, the president of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors at the opening plenary session of the Second Generation Conference given by the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors on May 27, 1984.

I had the good fortune to attend this historic meeting and hear Ben Meed’s message firsthand. It is with pride that I share this testimony with my colleagues.

REMARKS AT TOWN HALL BY BENJAMIN MEED

My Dear Friends, for the past three years, our activities of remembrance have proceeded under two banners.

We came to Jerusalem to speak of our journey—from Holocaust to rebirth—for in Jerusalem, the Jewish past and the Jewish future are united.

At Yad Vashem—and at the Western Wall—the survivors bore witness to their collective legacy and the second generation pledged—before Jewish History—an oath of remembrance.

It was in Jerusalem that the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors was founded.

Last year, we gathered in Washington—under the banner of Together From Holocaust to New Life—and testified before the world—to the miraculous story of rebirth and regeneration.

Thirty days ago—we again went to Washington—to break ground for a national memorial museum—and to place into the earth—two milk cans containing the pledge of the survivor.

How marvelous it is to be together with you today for this special moment! to witness the torch of remembrance passed to a new generation—conceived in liberty as an act of faith in the future.

I am mindful of the pride that I have as a father—in my children—and of the enormous respect and hope that your parents have in you—especially now—when you gather as mature men and women—with your children—to recall your roots—your past—to remember other children and their parents—your uncles and aunts and grandparents who were murdered before you were born.

How fortunate are we to have lived to witness this occasion. I think that I can speak in the name of your parents—many of whom I know—and in the name of those mothers and fathers who survived the camps and the ghettos—and gave birth and nurtured you—but were not fortunate enough to witness this moment of continuity.

In their memory, permit me to speak—not of the experience of being survivors—but of the responsibility that we—as parents—bore in raising a second generation. After the Holocaust, we were alone—terribly alone. We had lost our families—our entire world had been destroyed. We had no homes to which we could return. We had only two real choices—to rebuild our personal lives—learning a profession or a trade—and to build a new home. And on national scale to build a homeland.

Having seen what we had seen—whom could we trust? We realized that the whole world had betrayed us. So we turned to our fellow Jews—fellow survivors—peoples who would understand each other—without words. In the months after the war, survivors married. We were afraid of being alone. We were young then—but only in years. Our experiences had made us very old. Then you came into our lives—you—our children—were the future. We know that so well. A child’s life is precious—but we also know how fragile such a life is. We wanted to share so much with you—to give you all we had—and yet—part of our past could not be shared.

You sometimes regarded us as strange. We spoke with accents and still do. We were sometimes—perhaps—a burden to you. We were fearful. You were young and self-confident—American children—enjoying the freedom of this country. We wanted you to become American Jews.

We came from a different world. We grew up with an intensive Yiddish culture that throbbed with Jewish life. You matured in an America—going through the turmoil of the sixties—with civil rights marches—anti-war parades—drugs and the new morality. We prayed that you would have the inner strength to overcome your turbulent times.

We took pride in you. We cherished your bar-mitzvahs and your graduations. We wanted you to launch careers. Each time you left home, we worried—but tried not to let you know our concerns. Each time you returned, we were grateful. Yet—we knew that you would soon be on your own and we would again be left alone—as it should be—when you become independent and adult. Your marriage and your children—our grandchildren—have given us a sense of continuity and family that we could never have imagined in the days of our liberation.

And now that you have joined the chain of remembrance—we are grateful. For we know that soon—far too soon—there will be no more survivors to bear witness—none to refute the revisionists—no one who can tell the tale—no survivors to stand up and protest the commercialization and the vulgarization of the Holocaust. But we know that you will be there to lead the struggle to preserve the memory.

What should a survivor say that is meaningful—to the sons and daughters of survivors? You are a new chance for humanity. What is important my children—is for you to be humane—a “mensch”.

The Holocaust has shown that knowledgeable people with academic degrees—sophisticated people—can gas and burn and murder human beings. The Holocaust was made possible because every segment of the German society was involved. The cooperative effort of thousands—millions—was required—and it did not take long before that cooperation was obtained.

My children, there are clear indications that the reservoir of compassion—left after the Holocaust—is evaporating. Every evidence we have—suggests that brutality and

bigotry are once again moving out of the closet. Do not hesitate to confront that brutality. Speak out in a loud-clear voice—against that bigotry. Organize yourselves—and stay well organized—so that you will be prepared to face serious situations and new crises. Demonstrate and rally your support for all institutions of freedom and democracy—but remember your unique responsibility for the State of Israel. You cannot be a whole Jew if any Jew is not free. You cannot be a whole Jew if any American is half an American.

You must try to teach and sensitize the world to the fact that madness was unleashed more than forty years ago and—that madness is still dominating the minds and souls of too many countries. You must tell the story again and again—even if few listen—even if little is changed.

It must be heard and repeated.

We survivors have borne witness. As long as we are here, we will remember so that others are not allowed to forget. Your task—dear children of survivors—is to preserve the legacy given in Jerusalem—and reaffirmed in Washington—to remember—and to warn the world that Jews will never again be silent in the face of persecution and threats of annihilation. The world may find reasons to abandon Jews—and the State of Israel—but Jews will never again abandon Jews anywhere. We are responsible for one another.

The American gathering is doing everything to assist you. We have developed a national register that will preserve—for permanent documentation—the experiences of the survivors—and the generation after.

Yad Vashem has recorded the names of the Kedoshim—the martyrs who died in the Holocaust. We have collected—and are still collecting—the names of the living. We are working to build a national memorial in Washington so that the American people can understand what happened—and learn its lessons—so that the miracle of survival and rebirth—which you and I represent—can be retold.

And we are building a memorial in New York—to remember the vibrant Jewish world before the war—so that the world can learn about the vitality and life—the literature and the music that once was heard in Warsaw and in Bendzin—in Vilna and Vienna—in Saloniki and Bucarest—in Cracow and Lodz—in thousands of shtetls—and in the major cities of Europe—so that your children will know the world of their great-grandmothers and great-grandfathers.

My friends, time is running out for the survivors. We know that we cannot collect the documents or build the memorials—or even tell the tale alone. So—my children—become our colleagues in the journey of remembrance. Let us travel the path together. Very soon you will have to travel it alone.●

HUMAN RIGHTS IN PARAGUAY AND THE CLOSING OF THE NEWSPAPER ABC COLOR

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the status of human rights in Paraguay is becoming a matter of increasing concern both to Members of Congress and

to international human rights organizations.

This year marks the 13th anniversary in power of the regime of Paraguayan President Alfredo Stroessner. This occasion, in addition to the impact of the election of President Raul Alfonsín in Argentina, is sparking renewed interest in the state of civil and political liberties in the countries of the Southern Cone.

Earlier this year, the Stroessner government took the positive step of allowing some opposition politicians to return to Paraguay. However, the true meaning of this gesture was seriously undercut by the severe limitations and restrictions that were placed on the activities of these individuals once they returned.

Another negative development in Paraguay was the closing of the newspaper ABC Color. This newspaper was generally recognized as independent in its reporting policies. The indefinite closing of the paper and the harassment of its editor, Aldo Zuccolillo, were serious blows to freedom of the press in Paraguay. Indeed, it could be said that without ABC Color, there is no independent news voice in Paraguay.

Yet another disturbing incident involved the attempt by members of Americas Watch, the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, and the New York Bar Association to visit Paraguay. The members of the group were not allowed to enter the country and were not permitted to even contact the U.S. Embassy in Paraguay. Following this curious and shocking incident, the U.S. Embassy in Paraguay was advised on May 21, 1984, by the Paraguayan Government that the group would be allowed to return and meet with appropriate Paraguayan Government officials. An effort is being made to reschedule the trip.

To encourage the people of Paraguay in their efforts to reclaim and exercise their basic human rights, a total of 54 Representatives have joined with me to cosponsor House Concurrent Resolution 265, a resolution that expresses the sense of Congress about the situation in Paraguay. It is my hope that this legislation will provide an opportunity for congressional hearings on the subject of human rights in Paraguay.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cecilio J. Morales, Jr., a research fellow at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, recently authored an analysis of recent developments in Paraguay. In particular, Mr. Morales discussed the implications of the closing of ABC Color. In view of the renewed congressional interest in the situation in Paraguay, I commend Mr. Morales' article to the attention of my colleagues.

CURTAINS FOR ABC COLOR?

THE STROESSNER DICTATORSHIP: A HUMAN RIGHTS TEST CASE FOR THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

(By Cecilio J. Morales, Jr., research fellow at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs)

Charles A. Perlik, Jr., President of the 40,000-member Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO, CLC), and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), has called upon the international press community to join him in protesting the March 22 closing of Paraguay's leading daily, ABC Color, and in demanding that President Alfredo Stroessner allow it to reopen. Perlik also denounced the "abysmal press freedom record of the Paraguayan dictatorial regime."

Earlier, in a March 23 letter sent to U.S. Ambassador Arthur H. Davis in Asunción, Perlik called the closing of the paper and the 13-day incommunicado detention of its editor, Aldo Zuccolillo, "flagrant violations of international principles of press freedom," and noted, "Sr. Zuccolillo's incommunicado imprisonment is certainly a human rights violation as well." He was released March 28.

In his reply to Perlik dated March 30, 1984, Ambassador Davis described ABC Color's future as an independent newspaper as "cloudy," and added that the closure represented not only a "grave blow" to press freedom but a serious deterioration in what he termed an early 1984 "gradual evolution to a somewhat more open political climate in Paraguay."

"We will continue to impress upon leading government figures the extremely negative impact which the paper's closure will have in the American media and in the U.S. Congress," Davis wrote.

STROESSNER FALTERS

There has been some indication that Stroessner would be willing to allow the reopening of ABC Color if it was transferred to a new owner. A Paraguayan source close to the paper stated, however, that under no circumstances would Zuccolillo's colleagues agree to such a deal. The source also revealed that there is very little hope for the paper's reopening so long as Stroessner remains in power. At the present time, the aging Paraguayan dictator, who has ruled the country without interruption for the past 30 years, is becoming increasingly erratic in his behavior. Stroessner's actions against ABC Color can be interpreted as a clear signal that he no longer quietly controls events in the country as he once could, and that he may be responding to pressure from contending high level advisers who are jockeying to position themselves for the post-Stroessner era.

ABC Color was closed by order of the Minister of Interior for "causing hatred among Paraguayans." The events leading to the government's action began with the paper's reporting of the return of several exiled leaders of the People's Colorado Movement (MOPOCO), a dissident faction of the government-controlled party. The MOPOCO leadership had been in exile in Argentina for 25 years. Several months ago the Paraguayan government announced an amnesty for Paraguayan exiles—who total one million, compared to the country's present population of 3.5 million.

According to the weekly Latin America Press, Argentine President Raul Alfonsín exerted pressure on President Stroessner to allow the return of the exiles, hundreds of

thousands of whom were living in Buenos Aires. So far, only three percent of them have returned, due to the uncertain fate of, at best, being subject to the vigilance of the Paraguayan police, and at worst their accustomed brutality. In addition, the Paraguayan Church, which has arrayed itself against the Stroessner dictatorship, has discouraged the exiles from returning until adequate civic structures exist that would guarantee their safety.

Due to the large number of Paraguayans living in exile in Argentina it was rumored in Asuncion that Alfonsin was about to permit a radio and a television station run by MOPOCO to transmit to Paraguay from Argentine territory. By allowing the exiles to return, Stroessner guaranteed himself the capability to better monitor MOPOCO activities.

The detention of Zuccolillo was just the latest case in a long history of heavy-handed treatment of the press in Paraguay, with 1983-1984 being a particularly difficult period. On March 16 of this year, the ABC Color editor was ordered to appear at Asuncion's central police station for questioning. Once there, Zuccolillo refused to give his interrogators the name of the reporter who wrote an article which cited a statement by the leader of MOPOCO, Miguel Angel Gonzalez Casabianca, who also serves as president of the National Accord, an umbrella group of the country's political parties. Shortly before, Casabianca had returned to Paraguay after a 25-year exile in Buenos Aires. Zuccolillo insisted before his questioners that he, himself, had participated in the interview with the MOPOCO leader.

Subsequently, the interrogating officers called Interior Minister Sabino Montonero, who ordered Zuccolillo arrested. He was held in prison for seven days and under house arrest for six more. Sabino Montonero issued a resolution, which the police later presented at the paper's offices at 11:15 a.m. on the 22nd, instructing the paper to close down its operations by 12:00 noon that same day. The minister and the government's official mouthpiece, Patria, claimed that statements made by MOPOCO's Gonzalez were damaging to the state and were "subversive."

ABC Color was the largest paper in Paraguay, with a circulation of about 80,000. However, circulation had recently dwindled to 60,000 since the government denied the periodical the foreign exchange necessary to buy adequate supplies. As a result, the daily was forced to buy highly inflated black market dollars and to cut back on the number of pages in each issue.

Journalists affiliated with ABC Color repeatedly have been subject to harassment and detention by the Stroessner regime. On Sept. 23, 1983, the government again jailed Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle, an heroic ABC Color columnist and secretary general of the Paraguayan journalists' union, for an article he had written that was critical of the 30-year-old regime.

STROESSNER AS REAGAN "GUINEA PIG"

There is reason to believe that the Reagan administration, in order to improve its tarnished image as being an indifferent advocate of human rights in Latin America, is anxious to make Paraguay a test case for its belated vigilance in this area. A tip-off to this new attitude was given in the treatment of Paraguay in the 1983 "Country Reports On Human Rights." The State Department found that Stroessner rules the country in an authoritarian manner:

"In practice, there is no effective challenge to his authority, and the situation in Paraguay continues to be characterized by the subordination of the judicial and legislative branches of government to the executive and the frequent violation of civil and political liberties. Although his rule has brought stability and economic growth to Paraguay, it has been at a considerable cost to political rights and individual liberties."

On March 23, a State Department spokesman stated, "We deeply deplore the closure of ABC Color which represents a serious violation of the principle of freedom of the press." Elliott Abrams, the Reagan administration's controversial assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs—who has been under steady criticism for his apologetic attitude toward transgressions by rightist regimes and his ferocious denunciations of far milder violations by leftist ones—reportedly has decided to increase the pressure on Stroessner.

A few days later, Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) introduced a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 265) designed to encourage the downtrodden Paraguayan people to "reclaim and exercise their basic human rights," while also excoriating the Stroessner regime for its conduct since the general's assumption of power in 1954. Democracy is sadly lacking in Paraguay, as evidenced by Stroessner's near-continuous imposition of a state of siege since first coming to power, renewed every six months, that effectively invalidates the rights guaranteed by the national constitution.

Shortly before the State Department announcement, Patria published an article on a State Department report claiming that the Department had listed MOPOCO as a terrorist organization. The U.S. Embassy responded that it wasn't aware of the document and sent to Washington for it. When their report arrived, the embassy released it to the press, and it was subsequently published in the March 22 issue of ABC Color. The document stated that "This list contains the names of organizations responsible, by self-attribution, or by having been attributed the specific capture of hostages . . ." It noted, however, that all terrorist actions were not necessarily committed with the consent or knowledge of the group's leaders, and that some individuals and groups erroneously attribute their own actions to other organizations to avoid blame. An embassy statement issued with the document said that "the embassy has no reason for considering MOPOCO as a terrorist organization."

In fact, MOPOCO has never in its history been involved in terrorist actions. In a telephone call to the State Department's Office for Combatting Terrorism, COHA was told that MOPOCO is not on its list of terrorist organizations. COHA was later told by a State Department official that after the recent flap on MOPOCO in the Paraguayan press, the organization was taken off the list of terrorist groups.

The importance of maintaining the rudiments of a free press in Paraguay cannot be exaggerated. In the newsletter published by the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, del Valle, who has almost assumed a martyr status in Paraguay, is quoted as saying: "The newspapers are taking the place of the local courts and political parties because the institutions themselves have broken down. The people know we can't solve their problems for them. But they go home without that knot of anger in their throats, without the feeling of helplessness."

In the soon-to-be released "Survey of Press Freedom in Latin-America," which COHA annually compiles with The Newspaper Guild, Paraguay is cited as one of the worst violators of press freedom in the hemisphere. Below is a partial listing of press abuses by the Stroessner regime in the past 12 months:

On Apr. 9, 1983, Uruguayan journalist Jose Maria Orlando was arrested by police in the newsroom of ABC Color, allegedly for working in the country without a permit. Orlando was at the paper to advise and train writers.

On May 12 the police arrested 30 people associated with ABC Color, initially holding them incommunicado. Among those detained was Zuccolillo.

On July 16 the government jailed ABC Color's director for refusing to reveal confidential information he had gathered as part of a journalistic enquiry.

On Sept. 23 del Valle was arrested under article 79 of the constitution and released 76 days later as a result of international protests.

HERO STREET U.S.A.: TRIBUTE TO MEXICAN-AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD'S VETERANS

HON. LANE EVANS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. EVANS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, all too often our Nation has had to call on our neighborhoods to offer their son's services in defense of our country and its values. Responding unselfishly, young Americans stepped forward to serve their country. Yet one neighborhood stands apart in its contribution to our Armed Forces.

In the town of Silvis, Ill., situated along the banks of the Mississippi River, there is a small Mexican-American neighborhood called Hero Street. The 38 families that live here have sent some 110 young Americans into our armed services—8 of whom never returned to see their neighborhood again. In 1971, a monument was built and the street was renamed from Second Street to Hero Street. It is in honor of these men that the Hero Street memorial was constructed. Resembling a Mayan temple, the memorial symbolizes the ancestry of the eight young men.

All year long Hero Street serves as both a memorial to the soldiers and a playground for their brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces. But on Memorial Day, Hero Street is solely commemorative, remembering those individuals who truly are the heroes for whom the street is named.

The following article, about Hero Street, appeared in the May 28 issue of People magazine. I commend to our colleagues this article which relates the unique contribution made by this remarkable neighborhood to our Nation.

HERO STREET U.S.A.

Memorial Day was still three months away when Angelina Sandoval announced to her family, "It is already time for the flowers." The 87-year-old matriarch of Hero Street then gave her son Tanilo the money so he could purchase fresh flowers for the graves of his two brothers. "I think I've only missed one Memorial Day since my brothers got killed," says Tanilo, 58. The names of Frank and Joseph Sandoval will be among the many recalled this Memorial Day when the flags fly high on Billy Goat Hill and the most honored block and a half in America echoes with tales of valor and sacrifice in war. "As a youngster I would see these military men come home on leave, and that would inspire the younger generation who were waiting to turn 18 and serve," recalls Sonny Soliz, 51. "All the boys on Hero Street could hardly wait to serve our country."

Indeed, the 38 Mexican-American families that live along this unprepossessing concrete strip on the fringes of Silvis, Ill. (pop. 7,771) have sent some 110 men and women into America's armed services, surely more than any other neighborhood of its size in the country. Forty-five fought in World War II, and at least a dozen more in Korea and Vietnam. Eight of those fathers, brothers and sons never returned from the battles of WW II and Korea: Peter Masias, Tony Pompa, Claro Soliz, the Sandoval brothers, William Sandoval, Joseph Gomez and John Muños. A concrete memorial on the hill bears their names, along with those of seven others who lived elsewhere in Silvis. The monument stands atop the steep slopes of Billy Goat Hill, where the future soldiers once fought make-believe wars.

Below the crest, where the boys once gathered to sing and carouse the night before one of them was to leave for the war, a 155-mm howitzer stands sentinel over their legacy to the children of succeeding generations, a playground with basketball court and swings. Built in 1971, the memorial park was conceived by Silvis Alderman Joe Terronez, 55, who spearheaded the drive to honor Hero Street with a practical goal in mind: He wanted it paved.

Second Street, as it was called before Terronez got the name changed in 1969, was just a strip of dirt when nearly all its young men were drafted or enlisted to fight in World War II. The neighborhood was founded in the 1920s by migrant railroad workers who had been living with their families in boxcars at a nearby yard. Forced to move in 1929, many of them hauled their boxcars across the tracks to a clearing they'd hacked out of the brush with axes and machetes. When the spring rains came to the Mississippi River town, mud rolled down the hill and filled the rutted street. During the war, the hearse bringing home the dead always sank in the mud, so friends and relatives would have to rescue the casket. "We'd track mud into the living room," recalls Terronez. "It was always a mess."

To the mothers of that time, all the boys of Hero Street's close-knit families were their hijos (sons), but few lost as much as Señora Sandoval. All six of her sons served. Frank, whose slingshots were among the best in Silvis, was killed in northern Burma on June 29, 1944 at age 23. Ten months later, on April 14, 1945—only 23 days before Germany surrendered—his brother Joseph, 26, was killed when his unit was overrun by Nazi soldiers. The youngest, Santiago, made it home after being wounded in Korea, only

to be killed five weeks later in a car crash. "My mother doesn't forget," says her daughter, Georgia Herrera. "It is a daily thing with her. She talks about it constantly."

No longer able to climb stairs, Señora Sandoval now keeps to her green cinder-block room in the basement, where she manages with the aid of a walker and the help of her children, who stop by several times a day to care for her. Though the Sandovals mourn, Tanilo, who served in the Army during WW II, feels that his family harbors no anger. "I think Americans of all nationalities thought it was their duty back in World War II," he says. "I don't think there were any questions asked like there were in Vietnam."

Even so, his sister Georgia cannot forget how the loss of her brothers devastated the family. "I don't think anyone who hasn't experienced it can really explain to you the feeling," she says. "Now when you hear about war, they want to get into it in Nicaragua, you think to yourself, 'I wish it wouldn't be so.'" Despite her misgivings, family members still enlist. Señora Sandoval has a grandson in the Army and a great-grandson in the Air Force. They join, Georgia suggests, not out of patriotism but "because there are no jobs and no money to go and get an education."

Both Georgia and her brother are outraged by what they believe is discriminatory treatment of Hispanic Americans. Says Georgia: "Lots of Hispanics are not treated like citizens even if they were born here. Right here on this street is a good example of what the Hispanics did for this country." When Mexican-American soldiers came back from WW II, they were unwelcome at the original Silvis Veterans of Foreign Wars post and had to start their own. To this day two separate VFW contingents attend Memorial Day ceremonies on Hero Street.

Despite such unequal treatment the Mexican-American families "did not resent their sacrifice," says Sonny Soliz, whose uncle, Claro Soliz, died at 23 fighting in Belgium on Jan. 19, 1945. "They knew the dangers involved. They were proud." Soliz, an art teacher and athletic director at Silvis Junior High School, recalls that his uncle "was a very good artist. I was inspired by him." In 1974, to earn his master's degree in art education from Western Illinois University, Soliz painted a series of 13 watercolors about his street and its heroes. One shows Soliz' father at Rock Island cemetery thinking of his brother Claro, who is seen at the moment of his death falling over a barbed-wire fence. Another shows neighbor Tony Pompa, who flew tail gunner in a bomber, framed by the wreckage of his plane. Tony had enlisted after being fired from his job at a government arsenal because he was not a U.S. citizen. He lied about his age—he was only 17—and gave the recruiters a false name. Two and a half years later Pompa's aircraft was hit by shrapnel over Aviano, Italy. Other crew members bailed out, but Tony went down in the flaming plane, leaving a pregnant wife and an infant child. Tony was buried under his assumed name, "Lopez," and his anguished relatives had to badger the Army until the gravestone was carved correctly.

Today Tony Pompa's granddaughter, Alana Lee, 18, is in the Army, part of the enduring tradition of the Hero Street Eight. "Yes, they're dead," says Sonny Soliz, but they're still alive to us. It's good for the country to have something like Hero Street to inspire young people."

Soliz' brother Tony, who served in the Navy and now runs a barbershop, lost his

neighborhood pals, John Muños and Joseph Gomez, in Korea. He still has the last two letters he wrote to them. Both envelopes were returned in 1951 marked "Verified Deceased." "I was out to sea when I got those letters back and I just broke down," says Tony. An earlier letter, dated Aug. 13, 1951, which Muños wrote him from Korea, is poignantly unhappy. "Them bastards didn't waste too much time getting me to this lousy hole. . . . This place isn't fit for a dog. . . . Right now we're here on the front lines." Muños was killed 14 days later.

Among all the heroes of Hero Street, none showed more bravery in action than Joseph Gomez. Having served in Germany after World War II, Gomez was called from the Reserves to go to Korea in September 1950. There, a gallant self-sacrifice on May 17, 1951 earned him a posthumous Silver Star. His Army citation notes: "During a counter-attack launched by his company, Private Gomez, with complete disregard for his own safety, assaulted enemy positions in the face of point-blank small-arms and automatic-weapons fire. In a final assault under intense enemy fire, he fiercely charged the enemy with fixed bayonet, repulsing him with heavy losses and clearing the position." His stomach and chest riddled with Chinese bullets, Gomez died 11 days later.

"I always wondered why there was war and a lot of dying and a lot of suffering," says his daughter, Linda Diaz, 34, who was 15 months old when he died and is now a mother of three living in Port Byron, Ill. "I can understand how our people feel about losing these boys because of the war the way it was. But war is futile, and it hasn't proved anything by our boys getting killed." A Jehovah's Witness, Linda believes in pacifism and would like to leave her father's death behind. But Joe Terronez is lobbying to get a Medal of Honor for Gomez. Hero Street's fallen sons would have appreciated Terronez' campaign to honor their home block. As Claro Soliz put it in a letter home before he died, "The street is really not much, just mud and ruts, but right now to me it is the greatest street in the world." ●

LYNN SINGER SPEECH

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union held its first meeting in Paris on May 26. My good friend, Lynn Singer, of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jewry addressed the meeting on the status of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Many of our colleagues in the House and Senate are members of IPG and will find her remarks to be of particular interest. But all of us who believe in human rights will find her comments to be relevant and timely.

LYNN SINGER SPEECH

As president of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, I am here to acquaint the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union with the problem of Soviet Jewry and to recommend for your consideration concrete action to resolve this vital human rights issue.

Let me begin my analysis of Soviet Jewry with reference to the international agreements upon which the right to emigration and family reunification is based. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights states that everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own. The Helsinki accords affirm that the presentation of an application concerning family reunification will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicant or members of his family.

The Soviet Union is a signatory to the Universal Declaration and to the Helsinki accords. As such, the Soviet Union has undertaken to apply these international standards of behavior to its human rights policy for Soviet Jews. Equally, concerned citizens and parliamentarians are entitled to hold the Soviet Union accountable for its performance in implementing these agreements, as we hold our own nations accountable for their performance.

In the area of Jewish emigration, the performance by the Soviet Union has been abysmal and contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki accords. Since 1979, Jewish emigration for the Soviet Union has declined 98%, to the point where the current monthly average is at its lowest level in nearly two decades. Concomitant with this statistical downturn has been the creation of an environment for Soviet Jews which is paralleled in its deprivation of freedom only by the horrors of Stalinist Russia or Nazi Germany.

Every Soviet Jew applying to emigrate must have an invitation from a relative in Israel. Since 1968, more than 600,000 of these invitations have been requested by Soviet Jews. However, only 264,000 Soviet Jews have emigrated from the Soviet Union. Thus, there are more than 300,000 Soviet Jews who are denied the right to emigrate by the Soviet Union.

Accompanying the denial of emigration is the attempt by the Soviet Government to obliterate all traces of Jewish cultural identity. Although the Soviet Constitution guarantees the right of national minorities to cultural, religious and linguistic expression, Soviet Jews are effectively prohibited from exercising this right. The Hebrew language is officially forbidden, in terms of both instruction and the dissemination of materials. There are only 55 functioning synagogues in the Soviet Union to serve a Jewish population estimated at 2½ million. Furthermore, there are no seminaries for the training of rabbis, making the continuation of religious instruction and services an impossibility. The result of this officially sanctioned cultural genocide has been to drive Soviet Jews into underground seminars in order to retain their remaining vestiges of cultural identity.

The most disturbing aspect of the Soviet treatment of Jews has been the alarming increase in officially-sponsored anti-Jewish campaigns, in 1983, the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public was formed, under the leadership of a nominally Jewish general, David Dragunsky. This committee has been the guiding force behind a campaign against Jews which resembles the most abhorrent characteristics of the Nazi regime. To cite two statements made by the vice-chairman of the committee, Samuel Ziv, "The Jews actively cooperated with the Gestapo during World War II," and, "The Israeli Government Employs former SS officers in the training program for its Army." Such seemingly ludicrous assertions have had a chilling effect on those Jews seeking to emigrate, because they have con-

tributed to the isolation of Jews within Soviet society.

This social ostracism extends to the most basic aspects of everyday life. For most Soviet Jews applying to emigrate the immediate effect of their application is the loss of employment in their chosen profession. Such firings are particularly damaging in the Soviet Union, not only because of the reduction in income but also because anyone who is not gainfully employed can face criminal charges of parasitism, with the possibility of a one-year prison sentence.

Another fact of life in the Soviet Jew's existence is the denial of educational opportunity. There are strict quotas on Jewish admission to universities, and entrance examinations given to Jews are considerably more difficult than those given to other students. To cite one example, Andrei Sakharov solved a mathematics problem given to Jewish students on the Moscow State University entrance examination in two hours—the Jewish students were asked to solve the problem in twenty minutes.

Related to the loss of livelihood and educational opportunity is another effort to destroy careers—the revocation of academic degrees. Soviet Jews refused emigration visas had advanced degrees taken away in absentia by committees established at their former places of work. Only after protests from colleagues and governments in the West was this incidious and illegal practice halted by the Soviet authorities.

These then are the conditions under which the Jews of the Soviet Union must live. The denial of emigration, the denial of educational opportunity, the ostracism at the workplace, the specter of virulent anti-Semitism, the denial of cultural and religious identity, and the threat of arrest and imprisonment—all are commonplace in the Soviet Union today if you are a Soviet Jew.

As the International Parliamentary Group conducts its deliberations, the nature of Soviet human rights performance is eloquently and tragically underlined by the events surrounding the fate of Andrei Sakharov. Dr. Sakharov is known to all of us for his heroic efforts to defend human rights and human decency in the Soviet Union, and no group is more cognizant of this than the Jews of the Soviet Union. At great personal risk, Dr. Sakharov has publicly defended imprisoned Soviet Jews, such as Anatoly Shcharansky and Ida Nudel. His work in uncovering discrimination against Jews in universities and in the scientific community is well known to all of us engaged in the struggle for the freedom of Soviet Jews. That he now must literally commit suicide to attain the basic rights for which he has fought illustrates how much remains to be done to achieve the promise of the Helsinki accords.

There is a critical need to find a solution to the problem of Soviet Jewry before it is too late. In the view of my organization, the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union is uniquely positioned to have a practical and positive effect on the plight of Soviet Jews.

An outstanding achievement of the Helsinki process has been the degree to which Western governments have been united in their concern for human rights in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's flagrant disregard of its Helsinki obligations has only strengthened the resolve of the West to call attention to Soviet performance and to demand Soviet accountability for implementing the Helsinki guarantees. IPG can build on this momentum by its actions, with

the result that Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union can again become a significant achievement of our shared commitment to the Helsinki ideals.

Given the current alarming situation for Soviet Jews, I believe there are practical steps which IPG can take to return a climate of hope among those whose lives depend upon our efforts.

First, Soviet authorities in every Western country must be made aware that continued neglect of human rights pledges is unacceptable. This can be done through a variety of means: letters and telegrams to Soviet embassies, petitions on individual cases, and direct personal contact. Such action in the short-term can halt the worsening situation, and in the long-term can achieve results as Soviet representatives realize that the Soviet Jewry issue will not disappear in a time of cool bilateral and multilateral relations.

Second, parliamentarians should undertake to evaluate Soviet performance firsthand through missions to the Soviet Union. There is no substitute for viewing the position of Soviet Jewry than through the eyes of Soviet Jews themselves.

Third, the virulence of the Kremlin's anti-Jewish campaign must be challenged at every opportunity. The anti-Zionist Committee is but the latest effort by the Soviet Union to test the limits of Western resolve on this issue. The U.S.S.R. must be confronted with the knowledge that continued official sanctioning of such hate campaigns will serve to isolate the Kremlin as an irresponsible and illegitimate member of the International community.

Fourth, there must be action in the area of the free flow of information, denying Soviet Jews the right to correspondence and telephone communication with the West and with each other violates the spirit of the Helsinki accords and the letter of the International Postal Convention. No society can be hermetically sealed from exposure to ideas and cultures. The problem of radio jamming of Western broadcasts and the limitation on access to Western publications makes a mockery of the Soviet Union's pledges under Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act.

Fifth, artificial obstacles within the emigration process itself must be removed. Such restrictions as the first-degree relative rule for invitations (which define family as meaning only parents and children, not for example brothers and sisters), the requirement that new invitations are necessary for each application, that access by an applicant to supposed state secrets can delay the granting of visas for ten years or more, that applicants may not receive any answer for up to three years, and that applicants face the immediate loss of employment and career opportunities are all contrary to the Soviet Union's Helsinki commitments. There must be concerted effort to make the visa application process accessible and efficient for all those seeking family reunification.

Sixth, Western governments themselves must continue to work closely together in monitoring Soviet performance and acting in the all too frequent cases of Soviet abuses. Parliamentarians can be an essential catalyst in this effort by calling attention to the Soviet Jewry problem in meetings within their own governments. There can be no clearer demonstration of public support for human rights concerns than through the support given by directly elected representatives of the Western body politic.

Seventh, contact with Soviet parliamentarians can reinforce the commitment of Western legislators to the human rights issue. As Soviet representatives stress the necessity of coming to grips with the issue of nuclear weapons, so must IPG members stress that human rights performance is a measure of how reliable Soviet pledges are.

Finally, there must be realism and consistency in the overall strategy developed for improving the human rights of Soviet Jews. At the present rate of emigration, it will take 300 years to enable those Soviet Jews who have expressed a desire for emigration to have that desire fulfilled. Too often, there is a sense that the outlook is hopelessly pessimistic, or that given time the Soviet Union will eventually yield to our demands. However, the U.S.S.R. approaches this problem with a belief that time will eventually provide acceptance by the West of any outrageous Soviet policy. For IPG, this means that actions should be measured according to the gravity of the conditions being faced by Soviet Jews. At present, the situation is at its lowest point in many years, and we must be prepared to accept continued setbacks until such time as the Soviet Union realizes that our concern is permanent, and unchanging, regardless of short-term successes and failures.

This conference is in my view a turning point in the struggle for Soviet Jewish freedom. Your presence here indicates your concern, but more importantly conveys your imagination in finding new solutions to an age-old problem. Those for whom you are fighting look to you for leadership and for hope in a critical time. I know that you will not retreat from your resolve and will be remembered for raising a united voice in support of the only real measure of any society's value—the commitment to human dignity and human freedom.

Thank you.●

KISS YOUR JELLYBEANS GOODBYE

HON. BARBARA BOXER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit into the RECORD today the lyrics of a song written by Ms. Harmony Grisman and sung by Sweet Irene and the Jellybeans, a group of children from the Sixth District of California.

"Kiss Your Jellybeans Goodbye" is the title of the song, and while the lyrics are simple and direct, the message is powerful and one which we cannot afford to ignore. Certainly, children have a right to grow up in a world free from the fear of nuclear war and it is our responsibility to guarantee them the right.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that children have strong feelings about a secure and peaceful future. They are helping to change our world into a healthier place for all living things. It is high time we join Sweet Irene and the Jellybeans in spreading their message so that no one will have to kiss their jellybeans goodbye.

The lyrics of the song follow:

KISS YOUR JELLYBEANS GOODBYE

O Mr. Reagan won't you listen to me
I'd like a chance to live
I don't want my world irradiated or blown
to bits!

There's gonna have to be some changes
I'll tell you the reason why . . .
If you don't stop building nuclear bombs,
You can kiss your jellybeans goodbye!

Chorus:
Kiss your jellybeans goodbye
Kiss your jellybeans goodbye
If you don't stop building nuclear bombs,
You can kiss your jellybeans goodbye!

I really love this planet
And that's the reason why . . .
I say, Stop building those nuclear bombs
Or you can kiss your jellybeans goodbye!

Chorus:
Kiss your jellybeans goodbye
Kiss your jellybeans goodbye
If you don't stop building nuclear bombs,
You can kiss your jellybeans goodbye!

I've heard there's people hungry
With children just like me
Because you take all our money
And give it to the military

Chorus:
Kiss your jellybeans goodbye
Kiss your jellybeans goodbye
If you don't stop building nuclear bombs,
You can kiss your jellybeans goodbye!—

HARMONY GRISMAN.●

INDEPENDENT BANKING PRESERVATION ACT

HON. BRUCE F. VENTO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, the Independent Banking Preservation Act has received the strong support of small and community banks in Minnesota and across the country. The following statement of support was prepared by the executive board of the Independent Bankers Association of Minnesota and has been endorsed by the executive councils of the Illinois, Louisiana, Colorado, and South Dakota Independent Bankers Associations. In addition, resolutions of support for this legislation are currently pending before several other State organizations. The importance of this statement is that it provides Members of Congress with a concise description of the concerns held by small bankers regarding the future structure of the financial industry, as well as the reasons for their support of my legislation.

This statement of support is important for several other reasons as well. First, it demonstrates the support of independent, community and small bankers for legislation which would close the nonbank bank and South Dakota loopholes. Second, it demonstrates that many bankers recognize the validity of our Nation's traditional separation of banking and commerce activities. Finally, this statement demonstrates that many bankers are op-

posed to granting new asset powers to banks. Many members of the banking community have realized that it is likely that these new powers will be used almost solely by the largest money center banks.

Mr. Speaker, although I cannot agree with every concern raised in the following statement, I am pleased that independent bankers have indicated their support for the efforts of Chairman ST GERMAIN, Representative WYLIE, myself and others who have cosponsored H.R. 5734. The legislation I am introducing today uses H.R. 5734 as a starting point, and provides what I consider essential further legislative action to insure the safety and soundness of our Nation's financial structure.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the statement of support prepared by the Independent Association of Minnesota for the Independent Banking Preservation Act in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT, INDEPENDENT BANKING PRESERVATION ACT

We are a group of concerned community bankers who believe that the changes in the banking and financial markets sanctioned by Federal and State regulators should be reexamined.

Up to 1980, America had a decentralized banking system with thousands of institutions across the entire country providing services needed by local communities and businesses. It was a system carefully developed by the American political system to assure that economic power did not become unduly concentrated. The system allowed chartering by both state and federal authorities, prohibited banking (deposit taking) across state boundaries, and separated banking from most other kinds of commerce, most particularly securities underwriting.

The result was a creative and innovative financial system that promoted the most vigorous and powerful economy in the world. Because of the many financial service organizations that existed in this country, the financial market place was rich and varied.

Starting in 1980, the legal structure upon which this system was founded began to come apart. The legislative changes adopted to meet the challenge of inflation and protect savings and loan associations, as well as the deregulation of certain interest bearing accounts, created uncertainty and opportunity for banks and other financial institutions. If the process had stopped there, we would not be concerned today.

But together with these formal changes, there have been a variety of informal, regulatory policy changes that have made banking and financial regulation, in the words of Business Week commentator G. David Wallace, appear "ridiculous."

We have a law against interstate banking; but the Bank of America has 375 offices in 40 states; Citicorp has 444 in 39 states; Manufacturers Hanover has 478 offices in 30 states; Citicorp owns savings and loan associations in California, Illinois and Florida which take deposits and make commercial loans; and the U.S. Trust Corporation of New York converted its Florida trust office into a bank that takes deposits and makes consumer loans and dozens of large bank

holding companies have rushed to make application for similar interstate operations.

We have a law against combinations of banks with non financial institutions but Sears, Roebuck & Company owns a savings and loan, a stock broker, an insurance company and a real estate brokerage firm. Thirty-two securities firms own nonbank banks—including such major firms as E. F. Hutton, Prudential, Shearson, Merrill Lynch.

This ridicule of banking regulation didn't have to happen. In fact over the past 50 years, no federal regulator in either party believed that he could blink at the law, the rules or the legislative history and thus give away the financial store to his rich and powerful friends on Wall Street. We used to believe in this country that public policy choices were made by elected officials after reviewing competing legislative proposals. In the recent rush to remake the banking system, Congressional deliberation has been as welcome as the plague.

In the past few years, we have witnessed the development of the 1980s version of the spoils system. Under the guise of having to approve combinations because of "loopholes," the banking regulators have refused to even contest the most outrageous requests by big banks, big corporations and big securities firms. Today's loopholes are financial blackholes that threaten to consume our financial universe.

We think it is important to reestablish the banking regulations principles that served so well in the past. We agree with Chairman Volcker that banking has a unique place in our economic system. Banks, and only banks, are the key participants in the payment system. Banks, and only banks, have the capacity to expand and contract the money supply. Banks, and only banks, are protected by Federal deposit insurance. In its control of money (the accepted medium of exchange for all other goods and services) banking has power which no other service sector possesses.

Our choice in the past was for an efficient capital market with fair availability of credit based on financial decisions exercised within the territory served. While our nation obviously needs some large banks, and large banks have developed under our regulatory system, the further concentration of financial resources in nationwide financial and nonfinancial corporations is definitely not needed. And make no mistake, concentration will be the result of the current regulatory inaction.

As stated by the Conference of State Bank Supervisors, the issue is whether our nation will retain a diverse, multiple-institutional, locally-owned and controlled system which because of these characteristics is sensitive to the needs of the many and diverse economic areas of the nation.

The financial services sector is already dangerously concentrated. In 1983, the top 50 commercial banks control 59.8 percent of total bank assets. In 1972 there were 112 commercial banks with assets over \$1 billion. By 1982 their number had more than doubled—to 265 such banks. The growth in assets in the very largest banks was even more spectacular, rising over 300 percent from 1972 to 1982.

Banking is unique in yet another way—the usual economic prescription for increasing competition is to reduce barriers to entry. Such an action in regard to banks will have the opposite effect. In States which have allowed intrastate branching, we have seen the largest banks in the states acquiring key

banks in local markets thus concentrating economic power within the state.

If interstate banking restrictions are gutted, we will see the largest banks acquiring key banks in regional and local markets. While many large bank holding companies have positioned themselves for interstate banking by filing applications for nonbank banks, many others, such as the Wachovia Corporation, acknowledge that they plan to conduct interstate banking by acquiring banks in other states.

These acquired banks will be the banks in the largest population centers, with the greatest potential for growth and expansion, and with market values of their stock well below book value. This process is already underway.

This will result in fewer institutions of larger size leading to greater practical barriers to new competitors and to greater difficulties for small and medium businesses in arranging suitable credit to finance their operations.

Large size in financial institutions does not mean increased efficiency in providing the public with banking services, although it does lead to competitive advantages, the chief of which is the increased likelihood that it will not fail, or more importantly will not be allowed to fail. A high concentration of banking resources in a few giant nationwide organizations will inevitably result in increased government interest in their survival, bringing additional government regulation in the public interest and removing them even further from market penalties for poor decisions.

Just as it proved impossible for the Federal government to allow large industrial firms to fail, it will be unacceptable public policy that a national megabank should fail.

The outlook for independent, community banks worsens if the intermingling of financial institutions with retailers and stock brokers continues—whether by allowing Sears and E. F. Hutton to own savings and loans or by allowing Citibank to underwrite revenue bonds and corporate securities. Securities brokerage, for example, is even more highly concentrated than banking. In 1977 the top 25 brokerage firms earned 60% of the commission revenues earned by the entire industry. The top 5 investment banks handled 44% of all advised private placements in 1975 and 1976. During the decade from 1968 to 1977, the number of investment banks that handled new issues of revenue bonds decreased from 470 to approximately 370. Combinations of financial and nonfinancial corporations will result in less competition and more concentration.

Concerned community bankers have a legislative agenda that is embodied in the Independent Banking Preservation Act. We give high priority, as does Chairman Volcker, to ending nonbank proliferation. Title I of our bill amends the definition of bank in the Bank Holding Company Act so that its protections and obligations will cover all similarly situated entities. We provide that a bank is an institution insured by the FDIC, eligible for such insurance or engaged in taking deposits and making commercial loans.

Another priority objective is complete and consistent regulation of savings and loan holding companies. Our banks have accepted the reality of competition from savings and loans in our communities after the Congress made them "bank-like." Thus while many people say that there are too many banks, under the new law we now have 4,000 new banks. We have found that we can live

with this competition if they continue to put their assets in mortgage loans and related investments. While most savings and loans are still in the home loan business, they now have power and opportunity to develop an asset profile that is no different than most independent banks. However, their holding companies are not regulated like bank holding companies, particularly with regard to interstate branching and tie ins with a whole variety of non financial business operations.

Title I of our legislation adds to the definition of bank by providing that a savings and loan which fails to devote a significant portion of its assets to residential mortgages or related investments will be treated as a bank.

Title II of our legislation amends the Bank Holding Company Act to require that savings and loan holding companies which become subject to the Bank Holding Company Act because the assets of their savings and loan subsidiary are not substantially invested in home mortgage related investments will have to divest their nonfinancial activities.

A related problem which undermines restrictions on interstate banking and promotes financial concentration is the distressing and increasingly more frequent practice of Federal regulators approving emergency acquisitions of troubled financial institutions by extremely large, out of state financial institutions. Within the past year, Citibank has acquired ownership and control of deposit taking institutions in California, Illinois and Florida. The first such acquisition last year was initially hedged around with conditions, but within a month those restrictions were lifted.

Title III of our legislation amends various provisions of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, the National Housing Act, and the Federal Credit Union Act to prohibit "emergency" mergers involving the 50 largest banks or bank holding companies. The fact that in particular instances the bid of a large bank may result in a premium purchase price doesn't begin to compensate for the damage to the banking system by interstate concentration. Title III also requires divestiture of such acquisitions approved after January 1, 1983.

In the regulatory turmoil of the financial markets in the past few years, some state legislators and state regulators have moved to undermine interstate banking restrictions in order to give their state chartered institutions a momentary advantage in financial markets or merely to create jobs within that state by attracting out of state financial conglomerates. Whatever the motivation, and the job creation rationale has been mostly illusory, independent community banks—both nationally chartered and state chartered—are placed at a severe disadvantage.

Titles IV and V of our legislation deal with these uncoordinated, destructive state actions. Title IV amends the Bank Holding Company Act to delete state authority to approve acquisitions by out of state bank holding companies. This will effectively halt the growing proliferation of regional banking compacts. Interstate banking, whether regional or nationwide, has no fair place in our financial marketplace. Title V cures what has become known as the South Dakota problem—chartering state banks and giving them powers not normally possessed by financial institutions so long as they exercise these powers outside South Dakota.

Finally, as to the issue of concentration, our legislation addresses the competitive problem arising from a nationwide financial institution's ability to drive up rates on interest bearing deposits beyond those prevailing in the local market and finance its losses by profits in other geographical areas. Title VI prohibits predatory rate practices for the purpose of destroying competition in local financial markets.

Recent years have also witnessed a growing number of approvals for domestic operations of foreign banks. The Comptroller has granted Federal branch and agency authority despite local opposition if the State does not specifically prevent foreign intrusion into its financial markets. Title VII of our legislation makes two significant changes in the International Banking Act. First, the Comptroller may not approve foreign bank operations unless State law explicitly allows foreign bank operations so that the nonexistence of a prohibition is not taken as approval. Second, the Comptroller may not approve foreign operations even if a State law specifically allows it, if the home country of the foreign bank does not make equivalent concessions to United States banking institutions.

There are two other points on our legislative agenda, but these have much less priority than the preceding 7 titles of our legislation. The first is contained in Title VIII of our legislation which would authorize small banks under \$100 million in total assets to exercise bank holding company powers without actually forming a separate corporation. This authority would require notice to the Federal Reserve, but not the lengthy process now required.

The second is contained in the final title (this title has been deleted from the bill introduced today, as indicated in the accompanying remarks) of our legislation which gives small bank holding companies, having \$50 million in assets or less the authority to engage in real estate brokerage activities. Unlike the vast array of powers now being proposed for bank holding companies, the limited authority to broker real estate may be of some value to independent community banks. Where a State will allow real estate brokerage licenses to be held by banks, it will involve very little investment or risk to small banks to engage in these activities. Because State banking authorities often allow state banks to engage in real estate brokerage, it should be considered as an additional power for small national banks.

The vast array of new powers being proposed in other legislation for bank holding companies are wholly impractical for small banks. They are undesirable for the economy as a whole and would only tend to increase the already excessive power and concentration of money center banks.

The Independent Banking Preservation Act is our prescription for a healthy banking system in the United States. If its provisions are not enacted, our nation will go down the road towards bigger banks and financial concentration. This will force small banks out of business and will be unfair not just to their owners and investors but more significantly to the communities they serve.●

A LATIN AMERICAN STATESMAN'S VIEWS ON CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE DEBT CRISIS

HON. MICHAEL D. BARNES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BARNES. Mr. Speaker, recently the former President of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, visited the Congress to share with us his views and concerns with respect to the situation in Central America and the debt crisis in Latin America.

President Perez followed up his visit with a letter which sums up what he describes as "the viewpoint of a Latin American democratic political leader" on these issues. There is a great deal of wisdom in this short but elegant statement. I hope all my colleagues will take the time to read it carefully.

The statement follows:

CARACAS, Mayo 15, 1984.

Hon. MICHAEL D. BARNES,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, DC.

During the course of my last visit to the U.S., where I was invited by the Commission on U.S.-Central American Relations, I have attempted to convey, as clearly as I could, the view point of a Latin American democratic political leader. We, in the southern part of this hemisphere, are confronted with two critical problems: Central America and the foreign debt on which the U.S. policies and the Latin American perceptions seemed to be rapidly drifting into a terrain of profound lack of understanding in spite of the identity of our common goals.

In Central America, what is ultimately at stake, is not only the outcome of framing the crisis in the context of a confrontation between East and West, but the exaggerated and dangerous military build-up which will inevitably lead towards a wider regional conflict with extremely negative implications for the hemispheric relations. In spite of the characteristics and magnitude of the drama, we are convinced that the Contadora Group approach is not only the sole sensible course of action that ought to be put to a test and implemented, but being as it is a Latin American view point of an essentially Latin American conflict, the U.S. should be supportive, not just in words but in deeds, of the Contadora's twenty one points. I am convinced that a further military escalation reduces the opportunity for a negotiated solution and increases the probability of a regional war into which the U.S. will be inevitably drawn. Beyond expectations of the outcome and its consequential cost in the further loss of human lives and suffering, lies the fact that neither the U.S. nor the region nor Latin America will emerge from such an absurd probability as victors. Democracy, peace, stability and progress seldom call for such tragic means and even if they were deemed to be the inevitable course of action, they could only be justified once the proposed peaceful solutions have proved to be a failure.

In as far as the debt issue is concerned, there is no single country that wishes to renege its obligations, but in the context of the present conditions and the economic policies recommended by the International

Monetary Fund, the magnitude and structure of our financial commitments make it virtually impossible for us to service our debts without destroying the economic and social progress of our countries. Right now, the recent increase in interest rates and the expectations of future increases are already generating impatient reactions among the principal Latin American governments. Let us face facts. Our solidarity should be expressed and the best assurance is to demonstrate that we are prepared to overcome this crisis and reach an understanding with regard to our debts and development financial needs. The international financial community and both the governments of the creditor and debtor countries should work together. We must avoid a deadlock at all costs. The dynamic role that developing countries, and particularly Latin American economies, have increasingly played over the last decade must continue to insure a sustained reactivation of economic growth and world trade. This is essential for the stability of relations among us and for the strengthening of democracy in our countries.

One last word. The thrust of democratic processes in our region have seldom been as widespread and as promising as they are today. It would be unforgivable to allow this historic opportunity to be thwarted by any of the problems we now confront.

I am confident that you will ponder on these issues and hopefully bring to bear your own opinion for a better understanding of how Latin Americans view the problems we face together.

Again, I like to thank you for the very interesting and productive meeting in Washington.

CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ.●

JUVENILE JUSTICE, RUNAWAY YOUTH, AND MISSING CHILDREN'S ACT

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that H.R. 4971, the Juvenile Justice, Runaway Youth, and Missing Children's Act Amendments of 1984, has been passed by the House.

In particular, I am pleased that H.R. 4971 specifically addresses the very timely issue of missing children.

In any given year, nearly 1.8 million children in the United States are reported missing. Most of these children are runaways. We don't know how many others are abducted by their parents—some estimates are as high as 50,000 a year—but we do know the problem is growing. Nor do we have solid data on how many children are criminally abducted. But whatever their number, these are often the most tragic cases of all.

H.R. 4971 creates a National Bureau of Missing Children which will establish a national hotline to report and receive information about missing children. The Bureau will also give grants

to States to develop effective models for locating missing children and to prevent their abduction.

Members of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families have heard firsthand the human stories behind the statistics. As our first year-end report showed, youth are in crisis to a degree and extent not before seen in our communities. Directors of runaway shelters have told us they are seeing ever greater numbers of youth seeking crisis care. In New Orleans, a shelter director testified that in 1982 alone, her agency experienced a 12-percent increase in the numbers of youth using the shelter. In Niagara Falls, NY, Family Services reported serving in the first 3 months of 1983, twice as many runaway youth as during the first 3 months of 1982. An Ames, Iowa, shelter administrator told the committee that her agency is not only seeing more runaway youth, but that more of them have drug and alcohol problems, and have been abused at home.

Both runaway youth and delinquent youth often come from troubled homes and troubled communities. At a recent hearing, members heard from juvenile court judges, youth program administrators, and troubled young people themselves about the need for community-based alternatives to incarceration. Intervention to identify children at risk early in their lives, before problems grow too complex and remedies too expensive, was strongly recommended.

H.R. 4971 strengthens a key provision in the original Juvenile Justice Act, to insure that juveniles are not locked up in adult jails and prisons. Committee members learned directly the importance of this provision. Many troubled youth are still languishing in adult lockups where they are often victimized. The committee learned that in New York State some 3,000 youths are in jails and prisons. In Florida, members learned that in 1981-82, more than 700 juveniles are in adult jails—40 percent of whom were 16 years old or younger.

Fortunately, in our first year we also learned of dozens of successful youth intervention programs, which deterred them from delinquent behavior, early parenthood, and serious emotional problems.

It is because these successful workable alternatives exist, that I wholeheartedly endorse H.R. 4971. Helping States better track missing children, and allowing funds for prevention programs so that communities and parents can better protect themselves from ever having to face the problem in the first place, is exactly the right approach to take at this time.●

THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER: WHERE ARE OUR OTHER 2,500 AMERICANS

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day, 1984, marked a significant milestone in our Nation's history as we laid to rest the Unknown Soldier from the Vietnam war. At Arlington Cemetery, all eyes were turned to this ceremony which links the Unknown Soldier from Vietnam to his brothers from World War I and II and the Korean war. Rarely has so much emotion been poured forth a public ceremony, as Americans from all over the Nation gathered and remembered the sacrifices made by those killed, wounded, and still missing in Southeast Asia.

As the Unknown Soldier took his proper place in history, many of us wondered what effect the interment of the unknown will have on our painful and continuing quest for our missing in action; 2,500 Americans remain unaccounted for in Vietnam, and our efforts have spanned a decade during which time we have met with frustration, discouragement, and many unanswered questions. Our relationship with the Vietnamese has not been conducive to a full and final accounting of our missing, and we have many hurdles to scale in our long and painful vigil.

However, it is essential that the book not be closed on our missing Americans—by our Government leaders. President Reagan's leadership with regard to the POW/MIA issue has been outstanding, and the members of the House Task Force on American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia urged him to use the Unknown Soldier ceremony as an opportunity to tell the American people that there was still much more to be done if we were to bring home our missing Americans. I would like to submit for the RECORD a copy of the President's remarks at the tomb ceremony as well as his remarks from the rotunda of the Capitol the Friday before Memorial Day. God willing, we will all continue to search for our missing and prisoners, and one day all will be home to join their brother, the Unknown Soldier.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT MEMORIAL DAY CEREMONY HONORING VIETNAM UNKNOWN SOLDIER; ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

The PRESIDENT. My fellow Americans, Memorial Day is a day of ceremonies and speeches. Throughout America today, we honor the dead of our wars. We recall their valor and their sacrifices. We remember they gave their lives so that others might live.

We're also gathered here for a special event; the national funeral for an unknown

soldier who will today join the heroes of three other wars.

When he spoke at a ceremony at Gettysburg in 1863, President Lincoln reminded us that through their deeds, the dead had spoken more eloquently for themselves than any of the living ever could, and that we living could only honor them by re-dedicating ourselves to the cause for which they so willingly gave a last full measure of devotion.

Well, this is especially so today, for in our minds and hearts is the memory of Vietnam and all that that conflict meant for those who sacrificed on the field of battle and for their loved ones who suffered here at home.

Not long ago when a memorial was dedicated here in Washington to our Vietnam veterans, the events surrounding that dedication were a stirring reminder of America's resilience, of how our nation could learn and grow and transcend the tragedies of the past.

During the dedication ceremonies, the rolls of those who died and are still missing were read for three days in a candlelight ceremony at the National Cathedral. And the veterans of Vietnam who were never welcomed home with speeches and bands, but who were never defeated in battle and were heroes as surely as any who have ever fought in a noble cause, staged their own parade on Constitution Avenue. As America watched them, some in wheelchairs, all of them proud, there was a feeling that this nation, as a nation, we were coming together again and that we had, at long last, welcomed the boys home.

"A lot of healing went on," said one combat veteran who helped organize support for the memorial. And, then, there was this newspaper account that appeared after the ceremonies. I'd like to read it to you. "Yesterday, crowds returned to the Memorial. Among them was Herbie Petit a machinist and former Marine from New Orleans. 'Last night,' he said, standing near the wall, 'I went out to dinner with some other ex-Marines. There was also a group of college students in the restaurant. We started talking to each other. And before we left, they stood up and cheered us. The whole week,' Petit said, his eyes red, 'it was worth it just for that.'"

It has been worth it. We Americans have learned to listen to each other and to trust each other again. We've learned that government owes the people an explanation and needs their support for its actions at home and abroad. And we have learned, and I pray this time for good, the most valuable lesson of all—the preciousness of human freedom.

It has been a lesson relearned not just by Americans but by all the people of the world. Yet, while the experience of Vietnam has given us a stark lesson that ultimately must move the conscience of the world, we must remember that we cannot today, as much as some might want to, close this chapter in our history, for the war in Southeast Asia still haunts a small but brave group of Americans—the families of those still missing in the Vietnam conflict.

They live day and night with uncertainty, with an emptiness, with a void that we cannot fathom. Today, some sit among you. Their feelings are a mixture of pride and fear. They're proud of their sons or husbands, fathers or brothers who bravely and nobly answered the call of their country. But some of them fear that this ceremony writes a final chapter, leaving those they love forgotten.

Well, today, then, one way to honor those who served or may still be serving in Vietnam is to gather here and rededicate ourselves to securing the answers for the families of those missing in action. I ask the members of Congress, the leaders of veterans groups and the citizens of an entire nation present or listening to give these families your help and your support, for they still sacrifice and suffer.

Vietnam is not over for them. They cannot rest until they know the fate of those they loved and watched march off to serve their country. Our dedication to their cause must be strengthened with these events today. We write no last chapters. We close no books. We put away no final memories. An end to America's involvement in Vietnam cannot come before we've achieved the fullest possible accounting of those missing in action. (Applause.)

This can only happen when their families know with certainty that this nation discharged her duty to those who served nobly and well. Today, a united people call upon Hanoi with one voice: Heal the sorest wound of this conflict, return our sons to America, end the grief of those who are innocent and undeserving of any retribution. The Unknown Soldier who is returned to us today and whom we lay to rest is symbolic of all our missing sons and we will present him with the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest military decoration that we can bestow.

About him we may well wonder, as others have. As a child, did he play on some street in a great American city? Or did he work beside his father on a farm out in America's heartland? Did he marry? Did he have children? Did he look expectantly to return to a bride?

We'll never know the answer to these questions about his life. We do know, though, why he died. He saw the horrors of war, but bravely faced them—certain his cause, and his country's cause was a noble one. That he was fighting for human dignity, for free men everywhere. Today we pause to embrace him and all who served us so well in a war whose end offered no parades, no flags, and so little thanks.

We can be worthy of the values and ideals for which our sons sacrificed—worthy of their courage in the face of a fear that few of us will ever experience—by honoring their commitment and devotion to duty and country. Many veterans of Vietnam still serve in the armed forces, work in our offices, on our farms, and in our factories. Most have kept their experiences private. But most have been strengthened by their call to duty.

A grateful nation opens her heart today in gratitude for their sacrifice, for their courage, and for their noble service. Let us, if we must, debate the lessons learned at some other time. Today, we simply say with pride, thank you dear son. May God cradle you in His loving arms.

We present to you our nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for service above and beyond the call of duty—in action with the enemy during the Vietnam era.

Thank you.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT CEREMONY FOR VIETNAM UNKNOWN SOLDIER, THE ROTUNDA, THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, DC

The PRESIDENT. An American hero has returned home.

We may not know of this man's life, but we know of his character. We may not know

his name, but we know his courage. He is the heart, the spirit, and the soul of America.

Today, a grateful nation mourns the death of an unknown serviceman of the Vietnam conflict. This young American understood that freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. He may not have wanted to be a hero, but there is a need—in the Iron Triangle, off Yankee Station, at Khe Sanh, over the Red River Valley.

He accepted his mission and did his duty. And his honest patriotism overwhelms us. We understand the meaning of his sacrifice and those of his comrades yet to return.

This American hero may not need us, but surely we need him. In Longfellow's words: So when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the paths of men.

We must not be blind to the light that he left behind. Our path must be worthy of his trust. And we must not betray his love of country. It's up to us to protect the proud heritage now in our hands, and to live in peace as bravely as he died in war.

On this day, as we honor our unknown serviceman, we pray to Almighty God for His mercy. And we pray for the wisdom that this hero be America's last unknown. ●

AIRLINE EMPLOYEE PROTECTION ACT OF 1984

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, today with four of my colleagues, I am introducing the Airline Employee Protection Act of 1984. The act is designed to protect the rights of employees whose economic security is being unfairly endangered by the current upheaval in the airline industry.

Since its inception in 1978, airline deregulation has drastically changed the structure of the entire airline industry. New, independent airlines have sprung up almost overnight throughout the country offering low fares and no frills for their customers, and no unions for their employees. Some older, more established carriers accustomed to Government control, have restructured to compete with the new market entrants.

This restructuring has taken several forms. Airlines such as Continental, chose the bankruptcy courts. Others, such as Frontier, established new non-union subsidiaries. Still others including Transamerica, the Nation's largest charter airline, have purchased old, unused certificates to create new carriers. Under current law, many of these transactions are regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) to protect the rights of all of the parties, including employees.

Under section 408 of the Federal Aviation Act, the CAB in the past has imposed labor protections, known as Allegheny-Mohawk protections, as a

condition for approving mergers and acquisitions. Such protections often included seniority and compensation rights to protect workers in a turbulent industry.

Recently however, the CAB has been reluctant to continue those protections. In January of this year, in the Frontier Airlines case, the Board claimed that corporate reorganization was not their "regulatory concern in this deregulated era."

On December 31, 1984, the CAB will cease to exist. Yesterday the House adopted legislation transferring authority to oversee airline mergers and acquisitions to the Department of Transportation (DOT) until January 1, 1989. The Committee on Public Works and Transportation recently indicated its expectation that the DOT will continue to impose essential labor protections (House Report 98-793 at page 11):

In administering Section 408 of the Act CAB has imposed labor protective provisions, known as the Allegheny-Mohawk conditions, as a condition to its approval of many mergers and other Section 408 transactions. These conditions have been imposed in all recent mergers of carriers operating large (more than 60 seats) aircraft. The Committee expects the DOT will continue to impose labor protective conditions and to consider the interests of industry employees when evaluating the public interest under Section 102(a)(3).

Airline employees are justifiably uncomfortable, however, in relying merely on "expectations" to protect their job rights in view of the Board's recent reluctance to maintain traditional labor protections.

The bill that I am introducing today provides that assurance. This legislation requires that in cases of acquisitions and mergers, an airline and its employees must negotiate worker seniority rights. In cases of corporate restructuring, such as Frontier and Transamerica, the current work force would maintain its seniority by virtue of a single seniority list. Should the parties fail to agree, they can then choose an arbitrator or some other mutually agreed upon method to resolve their differences.

The bill represents a first step. There are others that we may wish to take. Seniority is not the sole employee protection contained in the Allegheny-Mohawk case. There are forms of restructuring other than merger and acquisition for which it may be necessary to impose these protections. This is, however, an important step, for it insures that current employees will be protected in the new airline industry. Under this bill, they will be at the head of the carriers' employment line, not at the end of the Government's unemployment line.

H.R. 5785

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That (a) title IV of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"PROTECTION OF EMPLOYEES IN CASES OF CONSOLIDATION, MERGER, OR ACQUISITION OF CONTROL

"Sec. 420. In any case in which two or more air carriers consolidate or merge their properties into one person for the ownership, management, or operation of the properties previously in separate ownership, or where any air carrier or person controlling an air carrier acquires control in any manner whatsoever of any air carrier, such air carriers shall provide the following protection for employees:

"(1) Insofar as the consolidation, merger, or acquisition affects the seniority rights of the carriers' employees, provisions shall be made for the integration of seniority lists in a fair and equitable manner or for a single seniority lists in a fair and equitable manner, including agreement through collective bargaining between the carriers and the representatives of the employees affected, where applicable. In the event of failure to agree, the dispute may be submitted by either party for adjustment in accordance with paragraph (2) of this subsection.

"(2)(A) Any dispute or controversy with respect to the requirements of paragraph (1) of this subsection which cannot be settled by the parties within 20 days after the controversy arises may be referred by any party to an arbitrator selected from a panel of seven names furnished by the National Mediation Board for consideration and determination. The parties shall select the arbitrator from such panel by alternatively striking names until only one remains and he shall serve as arbitrator. A decision shall be rendered within 90 days after the controversy arises, unless an extension of time is mutually agreeable to all parties. The salary and expenses of the arbitrator shall be paid equally by the carrier or carriers and (i) the organization or organizations representing the employee or employees, or (ii) if unrepresented, the employee or employees or groups of employees. The decision of the arbitrator shall be final and binding on the parties.

"(B) Subparagraph (A) of this paragraph shall not apply if the parties by mutual agreement determine that an alternative method for dispute settlement or an alternative procedure for selection of an arbitrator is appropriate in their particular dispute. No party shall be excused from complying with subparagraph (A) by reason of having suggested an alternative method of procedure unless and until that alternative method or procedure shall have been agreed to by all the parties."

(b) That portion of the table of contents which appears under the center heading:

"TITLE IV—AIR CARRIER ECONOMIC REGULATION"

is amended by adding at the end thereof:

"Sec. 420. Protection of employees in cases of consolidation, merger, or acquisition of control."

Sec. 2. Section 416(b) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(8) The Board shall not exempt any air carrier from any provision of section 420 of this title, except for any air carrier operating only aircraft having a maximum passenger capacity of fewer than 60 passengers or

a maximum payload capacity of less than 18,000 pounds."

Sec. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply to any consolidation or merger of the properties of two or more air carriers, and to any acquisition of control in any manner whatsoever of any air carrier, occurring on or after January 1, 1984.●

SPRINGFIELD'S GARRY BROWN

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, there are some people whose accomplishments and reputation are of such a magnitude as to almost defy written description. Former Boston Red Sox captain Carl Yastrzemski is such a person. Many have tried, but few have come close to capturing on paper his truly amazing baseball career.

Yaz retired at the end of the 1983 season. During that year literally hundreds of articles were written describing his many contributions to the city of Boston and the game of baseball. Some of the best journalists in the business including Thomas Boswell of the Washington Post, Steve Caddy of the New York Times, and Bud Collins and Mike Barnicle of the Boston Globe wrote columns on the special bond that existed between Yaz, the Red Sox, and their fans.

The Sporting News will soon publish a collection entitled "Best Sports Stories—1984." Within that volume will appear one article on Yaz; one article chosen from all those written about him in his last season. I am pleased to inform my colleagues that that article, "Fans Face Shock of Sox Without Yaz," was written by Garry Brown, the sports editor of the Springfield, Mass., Sunday Republican/Morning Union. I have admired Garry's work for years; he is a talented writer with a gift for describing sports events in such a way as to make readers feel that they are a part of the action. His column, "The Morning Line," has been a staple for sports enthusiasts in western Massachusetts since 1966 and I want to congratulate him on the richly deserved national recognition which his piece on Carl Yastrzemski has earned for him.

Mr. Speaker, I want to share Garry's award-winning column, which appeared on October 3, 1983, with my colleagues and ask that it appear at this point in the RECORD.

FANS FACE SHOCK

(By Garry Brown)

BOSTON.—To understand the impact of Carl Yastrzemski's baseball career, one simply has to consider the thousands of people who have never known the Boston Red Sox without him.

Let us assume, for instance, that the earliest a person can get hooked on baseball is at age 6 or 7. That means this country is popu-

lated by thousands of baseball fans age 28 or under who cannot envision a Red Sox team without Yaz.

If you want to carry it further and assume that most baseball fans get hooked on the game around the age of 10 or 12, you can add thousands of folks up to 34 who have never known baseball without No. 8 playing for the Red Sox.

Therefore, the trauma will be deep and lasting when Yaz plays Game No. 3,308 today—the final one in a 23-season career which began on April 11, 1961.

That last at-bat will be an emotional experience for him, and it will be something of a culture shock to those thousands who have come to think that Yastrzemski has always played for the Red Sox and always will.

These children of the Yaz era knew him before they knew the Beatles, and he outlasted them by 13 years. They knew Yastrzemski before Bob Dylan told them that the times they were a-changin'. The times did change, but Yastrzemski didn't. He was always there, the bat dangling loosely as he awaited the pitch. The hard eyes staring out at that adversary on the mound. The vicious, all-out swing so often producing drama and excitement.

These children of the '50s and '60s knew Yaz before they knew the Rolling Stones. Long before Woodstock, there was Yaz, playing left field and swinging his heart out for the Red Sox.

As the 34-and-unders grew up through the tumultuous '60s and war-torn '70s, they always knew they could rely on him. They lost John F. Kennedy and they couldn't count on Richard Nixon, but they knew that Yaz would not let them down. And if they had the slightest doubt about that, he reassured them in 1967 and 1975. No. 8 was there, doing the job and doing it right. If the game-winning hit or rally-killing throw were needed, they looked to No. 8 and he delivered.

There have, of course, been greater ball-players than Yastrzemski. Egad, Ty Cobb hit .367 for 22 years. Hank Aaron and Babe Ruth hit a lot more homers than Yastrzemski, and No. 9 looked a lot better at the plate than No. 8 ever could. Joe DiMaggio played the outfield better. Willie Mays ran the bases better and Al Kaline looked better throwing the ball.

None of this matters to the people who grew up with Yaz as their left fielder. Sure, they know Williams must have been great. They know about Aaron's and Ruth's home run records and DiMaggio's hitting streak. They respect the careers of Willie Mays and Al Kaline. But, in their eyes, Yaz is above and beyond them all, because he has been theirs for a lifetime. They love him, because when it became fashionable to jump from club to club, he did not leave them. He was no baseball vagabond. He stayed with them, in one place and in one uniform. They could always count on No. 8.

They love him, too, because they know it was not all that easy for him. They know about the all-winter workouts. They know that he had to sweat and strain to remain in the game. They know he had to tinker constantly with his swing to offset the advancing years.

Mostly, though they love him because they knew he always gave them an honest effort. He brought to baseball what the Polish immigrants brought to this country—a deep-seated work ethic, a willingness to sacrifice, a desire to excel, a day's work for a day's pay.

They love him, too, because they know how much he loved what he was doing. How could they want him to leave? They know he wanted one more pennant, one World Series ring.

So now, they know he has to go. They are here this weekend to cheer, and maybe shed a tear. That is the case with Michael Toscano, and 18-year-old U Mass student from Revere. He was at the gate early Saturday, waiting for a look at his hero.

"I've loved the guy since I was 10 years old," he said. "He's the greatest player in the history of the American League."

Don't argue. Don't try to talk to them about other eras and other heroes. The children of the '60s and '70s are losing theirs. The times they are a-changin'. ●

ST. CLOUD CHILDREN'S FILM PROJECT

HON. ARLAN STANGELAND

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. STANGELAND. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting an article which appeared in the St. Cloud Visitor. This article tells of a children's film project being produced in St. Cloud, MN. This is aimed at creating films suitable for viewing by the children of our Nation. I urge my colleagues to read this article.

PRODUCING QUALITY FILMS FOR CHILDREN: A STRUGGLE FOR VALUES AND DECENCY

(By Rosemary Borgert)

"Millions of people are concerned about decency and the quality of media. But if you want to change the way television is happening in America today, you have to take it in hand and do something about it yourself."

This is the philosophy of Dr. James Gambone, a St. Paul filmmaker and educator who is presently directing the St. Cloud Children's Film Project. Dr. Gambone—more familiarly known as Jim—is one of the Midwest's leading independent film producers. He has many commercial and public television programs to his credit as well as several award-winning documentaries, including *Agent Orange: A story of dignity and doubt* with Martin Sheen.

Project Coordinator Mrs. Gabrielle Scully of St. Cloud, wife and mother of two daughters ages 7 and 10, shares with Jim the urgency of providing an alternative to television programs which she says are "technically extremely good" but "intellectually very poor."

A native Egyptian, Gabrielle was not exposed to television until she came to this country at age 16 to pursue graduate studies in international relations. It was then that she realized the power of television on adults as well as children particularly.

"I believe it is important for a project like this to be specifically directed towards children because they get affected mentally, intellectually and of course emotionally by viewing so many hours a week of television."

Jim maintains there are a lot of people who are upset with the way the media treat people. He initiated the film project in St. Cloud in recent months "predicated on the basis that parents are concerned about the quality of children's television programming, and their lack of input into values

that go into these programs." He notes that "the film-making medium has been traditionally controlled by big-budgeted Hollywood style executives."

The finished St. Cloud project will be a 28-minute quality dramatic film specifically for children between the ages of 6 and 11. There will be an accompanying 30-minute documentary that details how the film is produced.

The film will be owned by the St. Cloud community, the first of its kind in the country. Story ideas were submitted by citizens; a citizens committee selected the winner; and large numbers of citizens will appear in the film.

The title of the film is *The St. Cloud Sleep*. The winning story idea was submitted by Laura Kundrat, mother of two younger children. The plot she submitted has been developed by professional screenwriters.

Financial support for the project will come from the people. The over-all budget is \$74,000—"the coffee and rolls budget for a major film-producing company," according to Jim. To date about \$14,000 has been raised. In order to keep the projected schedule for shooting the film in June, it is crucial to raise \$25,000 in the next few weeks, Jim emphasized.

Gabrielle maintains that life for her and her husband would be a lot easier if they did not have to constantly argue with their children about what they can and cannot see on TV.

Gabrielle wonders why movie producers can't come up with films that are "completely clean for children to see." She wonders too why films like *Annie* and others that are intended for children have to be rated PG. She wonders why there is need to accompany her children to such movies—which she does.

The St. Cloud Children's Film Project is an attempt to produce a model of how parents, educators and business people can have input in producing a film that reflects community norms and values, Jim said. What is being done in St. Cloud, he continued, can be replicated in any other community in the country, about any concern people might have, whether it be children's television, farm foreclosure, waste dumps and pollution.

St. Cloud residents were invited to be as creative as possible in submitting story ideas for the children's project. However, the ideas could not include violence, racism or sexism. "It had to be an uplifting story that treated children in a positive light," Jim said. A total of 75 ideas were submitted.

To encourage interest in the project and to help in surfacing talent for the film Jim directed a series of four acting workshops for children. They were attended by 140 young people and an additional number of adults.

"This will be the first publicly owned, publicly produced dramatic film for children ever done in this country," Jim said. "And it's risky. We don't know really whether it's going to work because we have to depend on the community to come through with support for the project in as many different ways as that's defined."

The Great River Regional Library will possess the film in the name of the community and will handle its distribution as well. Jim expects that "hundreds of thousands, and possibly millions" of people will see the film through the various channels of distribution.

The project has already attracted national and international publicity because of its uniqueness.

Financing the project is perhaps the most difficult and the most critical at this time. Jim and Gabrielle both point out that organizations which generally give money to more traditional projects are reluctant to give to the St. Cloud Children's Film Project because it is unique.

"This may not be a traditional project," Jim counters. "But if you look into history it's the people who take risks and try something different that come up successful."

Jim suggests that "people who are concerned about decency on television and in films should be supporting this project in whatever way they can because that's what this project is all about. We're saying that we can't rely on the government to do this for us; we can't rely on FCC regulations. If people want to make television and movies decent then they have to do it themselves."

Gabrielle invites people to "come and see what we're doing." She is sure that people will be convinced that "we're running a professional outfit," and that it is well worth supporting if you will come visit and inquire about our work." Further information about the project and contributions can be sent to the office at 22 South 5 Avenue, St. Cloud MN 56301; telephone (612) 255-0677. Tax deductible contributions can be made payable to Children's Film GRRL.

The lack of good children's programs in the media comes down to one basic issue, Jim says: "Bucks."

He maintains that "you do not make money producing quality programs. The networks aren't interested in 'good' programs ideas." Jim notes that even Walt Disney Productions has shifted its target audiences to the 13 to 19 year age group, and is now producing PG-rated films with "sexual innuendos."

He claims that the "biggest moneymakers in the industry today are pornography films."

If you are a person with principles you don't make a lot of money in filmmaking, Jim adds. "Part of my heritage is to sacrifice and struggle and try to come up with something a little bit better." He is a product of 16 years of Catholic education in his native Pittsburgh area. He did doctoral studies at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

"Society today is directed towards quashing people who have principles and values. And how do you face a network like CBS that made \$219 million in profits last year?"

"What we're doing is creating a mechanism that people can do something about."

Both Jim and Gabrielle are committed to the project. "We're principled people. Even if we don't get the support we'll struggle and try to do the best we can."

But this is a chance to make a bit of a stand. "We need your help," they say strongly.

Community film projects of this kind are not money makers for the professional producer. But Jim would like to be able to make his livelihood in this way. "It's in my interest to be successful with the St. Cloud Children's Film Project. If we could get a number of these projects going throughout the State of Minnesota as well as across the country I could make a decent living as a producer of quality television programs for children."

"That would be fine with me. I'd love to do that. If I was out to make big money as a producer I'd be doing something entirely

different. I wouldn't be doing this, that's for sure."

If the projected budget is raised Jim's salary for the one-year St. Cloud project could be \$14,000—which would average out to be about \$2.75 per hour given the amount of time he puts in on the project.

Gabrielle's salary is partially paid by the government-sponsored MEED program. ●

FLOWERS INDUSTRIES IS A STORY ABOUT THIS NATION

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, Flowers Industries is a story about America. It is a story of a company that has grown because of a quality product and dedicated management and employees.

A great deal of my interest in this corporation comes from my admiration for Amos R. McMullian, chief executive officer, who like myself, was raised in a small west Florida town. He was born near Two Egg and I was raised in Altha. Both of us owe more to that background and the people of the Jackson-Calhoun area than we can ever repay.

Recently an article appeared in the Tallahassee Democrat written by Wayne Harris, who completed the story leaving the paper. That article which appeared on Sunday, May 27, 1984, bears repeating and I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a tribute to Mr. McMullian, the Flowers family, and the great family of employees which make this a truly remarkable story about private initiative and this magnificent free enterprise system which is so uniquely American.

MAKING BREAD: FAMILY IS THE KEY TO FLOWERS RECIPE

(By Wayne Harris)

THOMASVILLE, GA.—Inside a massive, pale green building, just beyond the railroad tracks that define, more or less, the eastern edge of downtown Thomasville, Ga., there's a whole lotta baking going on.

Tons of flour from an outbuilding daily pour through an opening in the second-story roof, cascading into the immaculate, funnel-shaped maw of a giant sifter—about 12 feet high—that looks sturdy enough to mix concrete.

That's the beginning of a complex array of piping, megamixers, outsize ovens, serpentine conveyor belts and ingenious packaging machines that turns out finished bread products at the rate of 7,800 pounds an hour.

Nearly 400 employees work in the 105,000-square-foot Thomasville plant, just one of 19 in Flowers Industries Inc.'s baked-foods division (plus 12 in its snack and convenience-foods divisions). Together, the plants form a still-growing "reciprocal baking" system that has steadily escalated the 75-year-old company from a family-owned bakery into a Fortune 500 company with 10,000 employees.

The Thomasville plant produces a limited product line—buns, rolls, "batter-whipped"

and "old-fashioned" white bread, plus a few specialty breads like the Roman Meal line, which is a franchised label, and the company's Nature's Own line.

These are produced in quantities based strictly on orders received the previous day from wholesale route salespeople and from other Flowers plants within a night's drive of Thomasville.

Other Flowers baked-goods plants also produce limited product lines—again based on orders from wholesale-route salespeople and other plants. Computer-coordinated shipping assures that each plant receives a full product line in time for wholesale distribution the following day.

The result: long, efficient runs at all Flowers plants with a minimum of overproduction and down time.

And trailer trucks, instead of returning home empty, end up hauling baked goods two ways.

Other baking companies have turned to automation and reciprocal baking, but none has proven as masterful as Flowers at fine-tuning the process for maximum efficiency.

The company has turned a profit every year since going public 16 years ago, and has shown an increase in those profits in every year except 1975.

According to Forbes magazine's most recent survey of American industry, published in January, that performance made Flowers the third most profitable specialized-food company in the country over the past five years. Only Kellogg Corp. and Hershey Foods returned more, in terms of dividends and capital appreciation, to their shareholders.

For half a century the chief architect of this achievement was William H. Flowers Jr. He took over the business at age 20 in the middle of the Great Depression when his father died of a heart attack in 1934.

Flowers retired at the end of 1983, leaving his brother Langdon S. Flowers as chairman.

Langdon S. Flowers Jr., son of the chairman, is an executive vice president in the snack-foods division, and three Flowers in-laws hold executive positions in the company, while family members still own about 35 percent of the company's stock.

But Flowers has never been run as a typical family business. Outside talent has played a critical role in the company's success, and after Flowers retired, non-family members were promoted to the top two executive positions in the company. Chief Executive Officer Amos R. McMullian was made vice chairman of the board, and Frederick E. Cooper was named president.

In fact, according to Milling & Baking News, a respected industry magazine, a management-succession program initiated at Flowers in 1976 has created one of the youngest top-level management teams ever to head a wholesale baking company. The average age of the top four executives under Langdon S. Flowers is 43. Most of the team has worked together for about 20 years.

The dean of that management team is McMullian. A Jackson County native born "near Two Egg," the 46-year-old McMullian joined the then privately held company in 1963, when annual sales were \$8 million—a far cry from the \$522 million the company achieved in fiscal 1983.

McMullian, a business graduate of Florida State University, was hired as the company's assistant controller. But his first assignment was serving as a liaison between a computer supplier and the various divisions that were to use the new computers.

The assignment simultaneously gave McMullian a primer in the economies to be achieved through computerization and automation, and an understanding of the operational needs of all of Flowers' divisions.

He is an amiable but intense man whose rapid-fire thought process sometimes drives his Southern-inflected speech up to New York subway speeds.

McMullian is quick to point out that automation per se is only part of the key to Flowers' success.

"There's a difference between automation and efficiency," he said. "You can spend a lot of money to put in a state-of-the-art piece of equipment, but it might not improve efficiency. It has to be running to do you some good."

Flowers promotes efficiency, said McMullian, by centralizing overall corporate strategy but leaving operational decisions to plant managers.

Plant managers are given broad goals but are left to deal independently with the day-to-day problems of the local labor force and market. Those who succeed are rewarded for performance with cash and company-stock incentives. Payoffs on the stock plans come every four years, tying plant managers' well-being to the longer-term success of the company.

That decentralization lets Flowers keep its corporate staff lean. Only 80 people—less than one percent of the company's total work force—work out of the colonial-plantation-style building on the outskirts of Thomasville that serve as Flowers' corporate headquarters.

Below the management level, the corporate staff tries hard to make Flowers' employees feel a part of the extended "Flowers family."

Perhaps the most visible evidence for that effort is a biweekly, 8- to 10-minute videotape. It's produced by a professional video-production company, Video Communications of Tallahassee, under the supervision of Marta R. Jones, Flowers' corporate-communications director.

A recent tape began with McMullian passing along corporate news to Flowers employees.

The scene shifted quickly to Flowers' Stilwell, Okla., vegetable-processing plant, where the plant manager was given just enough time to provide an overview of plant operations.

Most of the rest of the tape was devoted to interviews with workers themselves; in fact, the final interview on the Stilwell segment was not with the plant manager but the plant's cook.

In a final segment, McMullian reappeared and thanked Flowers workers for their dedication and hard work as he walked through the idyllic woods that surround the Thomasville headquarters.

The tape undoubtedly would not play well in a union hall in Peoria. But most of Flowers' plants remain in small to medium-size cities in the South, fertile ground for the homespun "Flowers' family" approach to corporate culture.

Flowers' attention to detail from the production line to the supermarket recently earned the corporation a spot in a regional honor roll developed by the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Flowers was one of 22 companies included in the regional Fed's recent studies of the best-managed companies in the Southeast.

The value of that total approach to Flowers' bottom line is not lost on McMullian, who noted that "without productivity in-

creases, there can be no increase in the standard of living."

And he added, with even more intensity than usual: "I'll tell you what the Marine Corps taught me—that attitude is a weapon."

For all McMullian's operational acumen, however, Flowers Industries did not crack the Fortune 500 by virtue of efficiency alone; the company has been an aggressive acquirer of other baking and specialty-foods companies.

Acquisitions have been largely the province of Cooper, who was promoted to president after W.H. Flowers' retirement.

A Thomasville native who grew up in South Carolina, the 41-year-old Cooper joined Flowers in 1973 as "a one-man legal department."

His legal background has served Cooper in good stead: The company's penchant for buying out the plants of its less efficient competitors made it the object of an investigation, and ultimately an antitrust suit, by the Federal Trade Commission.

The 10-year dispute finally was settled out of court last November. Under terms of the agreement, Flowers will sell plants in Gadsden, Ala., and High Point, N.C. The company also must seek FTC approval for acquisition of any bread-baking operations beyond a specified size within 200 miles of existing Flowers bread-baking facilities.

In operations not involving bread products, Flowers is free to acquire what it can persuade other operators to sell.

"We finally prevailed upon the FTC" to view Flowers as a regional company competing in a national economy, McMullian noted dryly. "But so far it's accrued more to the benefit of the Socals, the Gulfs and the Texacos than to Flowers Industries."

Even before the settlement, Flowers had expanded its bread-baking operations as far west as Texas, and shortly afterward the company acquired a snack-food operation in Michigan. It also has diversified into the frozen-fruit and vegetable markets.

With the suit behind it, both McMullian and Cooper say, the company will continue to expand and diversify.

"We'll stay with what we know," McMullian said—"food generally, and particularly snack foods."

Asked to identify specific acquisition targets, both men just laughed.

Said Cooper: "We wouldn't want our competition to read about it in the Tallahassee Democrat."●

DRUG USE IS DRUG ABUSE

HON. EDWARD F. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I was struck this week by an article in the paper about Bob Woodward's new book, "Wired," which tells the story of John Belushi—the brilliant comedian who snuffed out his life with cocaine. One reaction to the book, it said, was regret that Belushi's story was not written by someone in the drug culture. He does not tell the story that drugs can be fun, was the response.

It is nearly impossible for me to understand how someone can harbor that sentiment after the ordeal de-

scribed in the book. But it is symptomatic, I believe, of the spreading belief that recreational drug use, if illegal, is still somehow acceptable. And this undercurrent is the foundation of an \$80 billion a year drug business that is corrupting our youth and crippling our communities.

Gus Matzorkis has captured the insidious effect of our casual attitude to the illegal use of narcotics in his article "Drug Use Is the Problem." I commend his insightful analysis to all of my colleagues:

DRUG USE IS THE PROBLEM

(By Gus Matzorkis)

What a bonus was handed to sellers of illicit drugs and to nonchalant advocates of drug use when "drug abuse" replaced "drug use" in our language and thinking. Originally having served some useful purpose when clearly used to distinguish between illicit use of street drugs and legal use of prescription drugs, "drug abuse" now rolls off tongue, typewriter, and word processor so automatically and indiscriminately that the implication has taken hold that our drug problems lie in the way illicit drugs are used rather than in the fact that they are used at all. That change of one word from use to abuse has made a modest but real contribution to the growing normalization of illegal drug consumption.

Now we even deal with the fact of children in school using drugs in terms of thoughts and emotions which are shaped a certain way by the suggestion that only some such drug use amounts to noteworthy drug abuse. Drug problems in schools and in the lives of young people, then, are supposedly caused by certain drugs being used in certain ways and beyond a certain extent, not by the use of drugs as such.

Newspaper and television reports of drug crackdowns in a school focus our attention more on how often and how much of what is smoked or popped or sniffed or injected or drunk than to what formerly would have been thought to be the point: that students in that school are, flatly, using illicit drugs. Earnest and well-meaning drug counselors in community clinics and on youth trouble phone lines often conceive the problem of psychologically or physiologically addicted youngsters as being a problem of unwise use of drugs, of use at too early an age, of use of the wrong drugs, or of overuse of drugs—rarely of drug use, period. So when the counselors themselves turn out to be past or present users (but, of course, not abusers) of drugs, hardly an eyebrow is raised.

We live in a public atmosphere flavored by unchallenged, very fashionable insider joking and by very cool, casual talk on television and in movies about nothing-to-get-excited-about use (not abuse) of drugs. No longer limited to special-appeal, screened-access outlets like cable TV and X-rated films, casual drug use has moved into the mainstream. From the lightsome pot smoking scene in the altogether uncontroversial "Nine To Five" movie of a few seasons ago to the cocaine sniffing and pill popping in Academy Award nominee "The Big Chill" this past season, the movie houses of America play their dual role as both reflectors and influencers of drug use normalization. Television reflects and influences, too, from soap operas to talk shows, daytime and nighttime, perfectly in keeping with the logical consequences of a people verbally conditioned to perceive abuse, not use, as the

drug problem of our times. The same pattern persists in revelations about drug use by professional athletes, and only very rarely do we see a flat-out statement that use of drugs is the unhealthy, worrisome development. When Jim Brown, the star running back who retired from pro football in the late 1960's, recently focused criticism on use of drugs by today's pros, he sounded faintly old fashioned.

We do see depictions of drug problems, of course, in films and TV and professional athletics, but these are almost always presented as problems of overdoing, not of doing.

The insistent message has made its clear and influential imprint on the national consciousness: some use of some drugs some of the time is perfectly normal and is, in any event, unavoidable. A further implication is gaining ground fast: "unabusive" use of drugs is not only all right, but actually is somehow praiseworthy and a kind of model of the new levelheadedness, the new responsibility, the new maturity.

So we look on and listen helplessly as the verbal violations go on and on, giving us drug dealers for the now quaint and square sounding drug pushers, and further giving it to us and to our language with "recreational drugs," "burned out," "crashing out," and the already aging "that's a downer," "a great high," and "bum trip." Before long we all start to talk and think like this: breezy, light-toned, very casual, nothing-to-get-up-tight-about, and in the process involuntarily contribute to the spreading sense of respectability and normalization of much drug use.

Words are powerful. Even in this age of the pervasive pictorial image, the power of the written and spoken word remains potent. Our action or inaction, and our thinking about social, political, and family matters are influenced to a remarkable degree by the particular words which become the commonly accepted way of referring to concepts or movements or values. In many situations, words can put one-sided limits on thought and feeling with respect to important issues, sometimes causing uncertainty and confusion which would not otherwise exist. "Drug abuse" has done such harm, and continues to.

We live in a time of timid and very qualified criticism of drug use itself, of enormously profitable trafficking in drugs, of a sense of resignation and near helplessness in nonuser parents and other concerned observers of drug consumption, of celebrities using drugs and sometimes being involved in the lucrative commerce in drugs. Changes in verbal fashions are only one strand in this unfolding history, but an important and sometimes prophetic strand.●

TRIBUTE TO CHIEF T.C. TISDON

HON. BUDDY ROEMER

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives a remarkable man who has devoted almost 30 years of his life to law enforcement and public safety in Shreveport, LA.

T.C. Tisdon joined the Shreveport Police Department back in January

1956. Since then, his hard work and dedication to the law enforcement profession have won him several important and ground-breaking promotions in the department. Along the way, he also earned two college degrees and attended numerous law enforcement schools, including the Law Enforcement Development Instructors School and the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Training School.

Earlier this year, Mayor John Hussey accepted a recommendation from Police Chief Cliff Heap and appointed Mr. Tisdon assistant chief of police, making him the first black man to hold that important position in the department.

In recognition of his latest promotion and his outstanding law enforcement career, fellow officers will be honoring Chief Tisdon at a special banquet in Shreveport on June 19. Such a tribute is well-deserved; there is no doubt about it. I would just like to add my congratulations and my thanks to Chief Tisdon for his hard work in helping make Shreveport a safer and a better place to live.●

THE GEORGE FOREMAN SCHOLARSHIP IN JOURNALISM

HON. HAL DAUB

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DAUB. Mr. Speaker, in my home State of Nebraska, there is considerable pride taken in the fact that we love our sports, but we also make sure that our college and university athletes graduate with more than a letter on sweaters to show for being on campus. We always rank high in academic all-Americans, and this is no accident as a great deal of effort is expended to make this so.

A few weeks ago, there was an example of how we go about this: The award of the first George Foreman Scholarship in Journalism to a young lady named Holly Ashmore who is a sophomore taking journalism broadcasting courses. She is also a sprinter on our remarkable University of Nebraska-Lincoln women's track team.

The scholarship has been established and endowed to be given annually to minority athletes encouraging them to take writing, public speaking, and broadcasting courses which will extend their competition-won eminence into a career field and is a gift of two alumni, Colonel Barney and Mrs. Vada Oldfield of Beverly Hills, CA.

It takes its direction from the fact that former Olympic gold medalist (1968) George Foreman, who became world boxing champion in 1973 and lost the crown in 1974, was hired by ABC Sports as a commentator. It is

this after-life of the athlete when the crowd has stopped roaring that the scholarship will help.

It is also a story of a remarkable friendship between people, recently covered by an article in the Omaha World Herald. It is a touching and beautiful recount of how one thing can lead to another when a ghetto kid on a disaster heading toward a life of crime, and a country kid who attended the University of Nebraska and could never forget what it meant to him—find themselves on a collision course. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

JOURNALISM SCHOLARSHIP AT UNL: GEORGE FOREMAN'S NAME LIVES ON IN EDUCATION
(By Col. Barney Oldfield)

The murderous right hand of George Foreman that pulverized the face of Soviet boxer Ionnas Chepulis in the Mexico City Olympic Games of 1968 has reached out with a \$2,000 grant in his name to a University of Nebraska-Lincoln journalism student.

The first winner is Holly Ashmore, a sophomore from Des Moines who is a member of the talented Cornhusker women's track team, and who has aspirations to be the first member of her family to earn a university degree.

Miss Ashmore is majoring in broadcast journalism. The presentation of this first annual award will be made during the school of journalism's J-Week activities, Tuesday through Saturday.

Sixteen years ago, in Mexico City, that right hand, and an equally lethal left jab, not only earned one more U.S. Gold Medal, it also signaled that a new world boxing champion was on the way.

George Foreman, a 19-year-old slum kid and ghetto no-account, scored a technical knockout over Chepulis. The Soviet veteran, 29, stood there spattered with his own blood. He was groggy and staggering—the technical part being that he was still on his feet.

The next scene is Olympic Games history. Foreman walked to his corner and fumbled with his taped hands in the pocket of his robe. A magical moment was about to imbibe itself unforgettably in the memory of all the peoples of the world.

The Mexico City Games were the first to be given to viewers in real time by the help of satellite communications relay. An estimated 500 million human beings, considering that boxing has such wide international appeal, were watching.

I had gone to Mexico City with George, as he was one of 14,500 trainees in an Urban Job Corps Center operated by Litton Industries at an abandoned Air Force base near Pleasanton, Calif.

"Be available to him," Litton founder Charles B. "Tex" Thornton had said to me. "Talk with him when he's troubled or when the pressure is on."

And there at ringside that night, I saw the small American flag materialize in George Foreman's hand. With it held high, he did the traditional bow of the victor in each of the four directions while the noisy audience applauded.

George had everything going for him at that moment. Chepulius, the Soviet contender, had eliminated the Mexican entry to get to the finals—and now George, to the Mexican fight fans, had been cast by them in the role of the avenger. Short of a bull-

fight, it had been the best blood-letting clash in a long time.

But what was evolving there, I suddenly realized, was more than a decisive win and a looming Gold Medal. What was born there on that spur-of-the-moment salute was not just another Olympic victory, it was a full-blown inspiration.

Everyone who saw it got his own brand of satisfaction, it was widely interpreted as one black man's rebuttal to the so-called "black power movement" as symbolized by the raised clenched fists of 200-meter sprinters Tommy Smith and John Carlos.

The Emir of Kuwait, who saw it on TV in his hotel suite in Beirut, Lebanon, had recently received an invitation to make a state visit to the United States.

He had been asked to name some people he would like to meet in the East Room of the White House "state dinner." He promptly made up his mind that one person would be this handsome black teen-ager.

President Johnson not only had George come to the White House—but seated him at the VIP table with the Emir so they could talk. And as recently as 1983, in March, when President Reagan spoke in Los Angeles before the U.S. Olympic Committee, he said warmly:

"How can we ever forget the moment when a young man, George Foreman, from an underprivileged background at a time when there was ill feeling . . . and age 30 was a barrier to some in this country . . . when victory was announced . . . stood there in the middle of the ring and suddenly unfurled a small American flag."

"It was a thrill, I think, for everyone in this country. It was in the turbulent '60s. He showed us that whatever divides us, it's not as strong as what keeps us together."

George Foreman had a simple explanation. He was intensely proud of being an American.

Once as punishment at the Job Corps, he had been ordered to dig a big hole in hard and stoney ground. After he'd gotten it to the depth of about five feet, his brow and clothes dripping wet with sweat, he was told what the hole was for—the emplacement of a flagpole for the Job Corps Center.

Having worked off the punishment, he was given the honor of raising the flag the first time. For an alumnus of the "bloody Fifth Ward" of Houston, it was the first time he sensed that he was an integral part of the United States. Up to then this homeland only seemed to tolerate him reluctantly.

In the nearly 7,000 competitors lodged in Mexico City's Olympic Village, which was George's first encounter with a spectrum of all the earth's peoples, he estimated that more than 1,200 of them were black. Even though he had that big "USA" on his ring T-shirt, he said:

"I wanted to be sure that everybody knew I was from the United States, so I brought the flag with me that night."

To those who said he did it to oppose the views of Smith and Carlos, George was quick to correct that impression. "The country I come from," he said earnestly, "is big enough to allow for lots of different opinions. If that's the way they feel, OK. It's not the way I feel."

It was to be my good fortune to share in the excitement that went with being in the George Foreman shadow thereafter.

We went to the White House together. I was at ringside in Jamaica when he bounced "Smokin' Joe" Frazier on the canvas six times and won the heavyweight champion-

ship; in Caracas, Venezuela, when he demolished a terrified Ken Norton, and alas, in Kinshasa, in Zaire, when he was sandbagged or "rope-a-doped" by Muhammad Ali in the eighth round and saw the crown pass to another.

Where there had once been retinues and Pied Pipe-like fans fastened to him everywhere he went, George Foreman walked more and more alone.

More than a world title changes hands on such occasions. The loser's world becomes a kind of empty rain barrel containing only echoes of what once was. From then on, he would be cursed with that so small and so disposing prefix which makes such an enormous difference, "ex," as in "ex-champ" and "ex-titleholder."

It did not make him an "ex-human being," however.

In our talks I had always stressed planning for the day when the ring would be behind him. He had considerable leadership potential, had a way with kids; in a way, he could be the biggest kid on the block, and always would be.

His mother, a barber, Mrs. Nancy Ree Foreman, was a religious woman, and it made an impression on George. In fact, that night when he won against Joe Frazier, when he came back to the dressing room he had his longtime friend and trainer, Charles R. "Doc" Broadus, and I help him close the door against everybody—press, fans, staff.

He then went down to the foot of the training table, raised those huge hands to his face, and prayed for nearly five minutes—thanking his God and ticking off the names of everyone who had helped him get there.

Then he let the sportswriters and the others enter. First things first.

Foreman was capable of inspiring, lifting up, giving hope. No matter how low on the pole of life anyone might be that he talked with, Foreman could match experiences with degradation, ugliness, rejection, inhumanity and brutality—and he had ultimately escaped it all with what he said was a late-drawing "four-letter word"—WORK.

Foreman was a high school dropout. He gave up formal schooling in the ninth grade and took to the streets for the basics of what passed for wisdom in his realm.

He was an alcoholic at 10, a street brawler at 11 and a mugger in his middle teens. He deliberately set about to be the meanest man around, and few disputed his right to claim that.

It was this which led Houston police to give him the choice of entering the Job Corps or going to court and probably jail. He had heard two football players he admired—Johnny Unitas and Jim Brown—talking about the Job Corps on a radio public service spot in the pool hall.

If they were for it, it was better than jail, and this had put George and me on our collision course. We have remained friends.

Thus it came to pass that a year ago, during the annual Nebraska Statehood Days celebration in Lincoln, announcement was made at the Distinguished NEBRASKA-Kalander dinner that the Foreman capacity for inspiration would be perpetuated for the foreseeable future—with the establishment of a George Foreman Scholarship in Journalism at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Foreman, the kid who could never go to college himself, will through some minority student surrogate enter the university every year from now on.

Foreman, who had never been in Nebraska until called from his small church in

Houston to do the invocation at the dinner in the capitol rotunda, remarked: "I always thought gravity was from somewhere in the center of the earth—but I now know it's here in Nebraska!"

He said he would come up from Houston to make the first award.

When George first left the ghetto, he did not use the language well. He didn't need to. A frown or an intimidating move got things done better than words.

But the night he laid Joe Frazier low in Jamaica, I wrote him a note about how much his life had changed, and that as the champ he would be expected to have sage opinions on any and every subject, so "for your own sake, learn to talk!"

"Never fall into that athlete's conversational garbage bin of 'y'knows' and 'I means,' as it marks you down immediately."

With the championship behind him, when ABC-TV Sports Inc. gave him a contract as a "color commentator," it was symphonic music to me, since no one would have hired him to sit in with Howard Cosell unless he could hold his own with words.

Then he became a minister.

The George Foreman Scholarship in Journalism may not necessarily be won by a minority athlete every year, as is Holly Ashmore. But it will always be there to encourage such performers to add to their excellence with writing and broadcasting courses so they can take their credentials into a career field after the crowd stops roaring.

On May 18, 1984, Foreman will become one of this year's 10 Horatio Alger selections at an annual spectacular at the Century-Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles.

He said he knows Horatio Alger wrote make-believe stories about pluck, luck, perseverance, success against great odds, little parables to encourage those for whom the way ahead might be bleak.

"He'd never have had the nerve to pick somebody like me for one of his heroes," Foreman said. "But then, what happened to me wasn't fiction—or so I keep telling myself."

The George Foreman Scholarship in Journalism, fully endowed, will keep reassuring him that it wasn't.

DEDICATION OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS CENTER

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 23, I had the privilege of attending the dedication ceremony of the new Defense Intelligence Analysis Center at Bolling Air Force Base here in Washington. The opening of this facility marks a turning point for the Defense Intelligence Agency—a recognition by the Congress, the Defense Establishment, and the rest of the intelligence community that the DIA is a full partner in national intelligence analysis, a truly viable and competitive center of intelligence.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the remarks of Secretary Weinberger marking the occasion of the dedication in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF SECRETARY CASPAR WILLARD WEINBERGER

Distinguished members of Congress, General Williams, ladies and gentlemen; I am honored to have the opportunity to join you on this important occasion for the Defense Department, and indeed for the entire nation. We have come together today to make a very important change to the skyline of our nation's Capital, and to begin a new chapter in the history of one of the finest organizations in our government, the Defense Intelligence Agency.

In dedicating this building—the defense intelligence analysis center—we are taking an important step to strengthen the capability of the United States to obtain the best intelligence available, in peace or war. History has shown time and time again that timely and accurate defense intelligence is critically essential in conflict. But in this era of nuclear weaponry, defense intelligence is also vital to keeping the peace, in maintaining the preparedness that is indispensable to deterring war.

If we are to remain prepared. . . . We must have effective intelligence collection at all levels—strategic, theater and tactical levels. . . . and if we are to have the rapid analysis of that intelligence for both the national decision-maker and the tactical commander in the field—the analysis that helps transform raw intelligence into a useful tool. . . . Then we must provide the necessary tools to those to whom we have entrusted the weighty responsibility of intelligence production. This defense intelligence analysis center will provide those tools to the defense intelligence agency, for it is among the finest, most advanced research and analytical centers in the world.

The planning and construction of the defense intelligence analysis center has been some 20 years in the making. So many in this audience—former directors of DIA, members, former members and staff members of House and Senate committees, and many others—deserve our thanks and praise for their role in making this center a reality. I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who has played a part in this effort, and in particular to pay tribute to one who had a great deal to do with this fine building. The late Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Senator Jackson was a wise and eloquent advocate of strong American defenses and responsive intelligence, and he dedicated his life to attaining those goals. He once wrote: "Free men are engaged in a bitter contest with powerful and resourceful adversaries. The responsibility of America is to defend vital national interests, promote the economic well-being of the nation, and use its power and influence with the good sense that marks a great nation."

Senator Jackson has a clear and deep appreciation that a great nation has to have a strong intelligence capability if it is to use its power and influence wisely in preserving the peace indeed if a great nation is to survive. He saw the need for this new center to support the work of the defense intelligence agency, and as a member of the Senate Armed Services and Intelligence Committees he did what was necessary to fulfill that requirement.

Both as the member of the administration entrusted with the responsibility for maintaining our nation's defenses, and as a long time friend of Senator Jackson, I believe that the nation owes him a great debt of gratitude for his foresight and vision. For I

recognize that I could not fulfill my responsibilities without the vital and professional services performed by the defense intelligence agency. And the DIA can not meet the challenges of the future without this center.

Let me take a few minutes to talk about how the center helps bring about this reality. The DIA comprises some 5,000 military and civilian personnel, many of them pre-eminent experts in their intelligence fields. They work here in Washington and at 91 defense attaché offices around the world. The center allows us to coordinate the work of all those professionals. We can now consolidate some 3,000 personnel from throughout the Washington area in this one building. And from the desk-side terminals of the intelligence analysts in the building, communications links extend to the entire Washington intelligence community, to the unified and specified commands, and to other key installations in the United States and overseas.

The Defense Intelligence Analysis Center brings together for the first time under one roof DIA's basic research personnel, its scientific and technological experts and those who develop our intelligence estimates. A crisis support center in the building permits a fusion of all of these defense intelligence research disciplines to produce timely defense intelligence support both to the national level in Washington and to the operational commander in the field, whenever required—in peacetime, crisis or conflict.

The center will also help us prepare to meet our future intelligence needs. It will be the new home of the Defense Intelligence College, providing the school with modern classrooms, library and research facilities. The college, which offers the nation's only master's degree in strategic intelligence, will then be better able to prepare military and civilian personnel for their assignments in the defense attaché system and throughout the intelligence and national security communities.

These improvements to our defense intelligence capabilities are timely. For today, more than during any other peacetime period, there is a pressing need for the best possible intelligence to assess the challenges posed to the United States and our Allies by the steadily increasing military capabilities of the Soviet Union. Since 1981 DIA has helped prepare the Department of Defense's unclassified reports on the Soviet armed forces, entitled Soviet military power. Those books play an indispensable role in helping to convey to the American public and to free people everywhere the size and nature of the continuing Soviet military buildup.

What do those reports tell us? First, that over the past 20 years the Soviet Union has greatly increased its offensive military capability and has significantly improved its ability to conduct military operations worldwide. Secondly, that the Soviet military buildup is made possible by a national policy that has consistently made military materiel production its highest economic priority.

Consider the evidence. The Soviets continue to modernize their ICBM force as well as their strategic submarines and bombers. New air-, sea-, and ground-launched cruise missiles are nearing deployment. They continue to increase the numbers of deployed SS-20 missiles capable of targeting our Allies in Europe and the Far East. And new, more capable surface warships and attack submarines are entering the Soviet fleet.

The business of monitoring Soviet force capabilities, analyzing their significance—and their implications for U.S. and Allied forces—poses a tremendous intelligence challenge. But the Defense Intelligence Agency, with other members of the U.S. intelligence community, must also monitor how the Soviets are employing those capabilities.

This is particularly difficult in this era of subversion, insurrections, and so-called wars of national liberation when it is not always easy to perceive the source of conflict. For not only are the Soviets involved directly in aggression, as in Afghanistan, but they also are delivering a growing arsenal of weapons to Libya, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam and Syria among others—proxies of the Soviets, involved in conflicts throughout the world. Monitoring the Soviet projection of power and the activity of Soviet surrogates presents an extremely complex challenge for the DIA.

This year, DIA is confronting one of the most difficult aspects of that challenge—mounting a redoubled effort, with the rest of the intelligence community, against the operations of international terrorists. In cooperation with the intelligence services of friendly nations, we are increasing our knowledge and developing networks to track terrorists organizations and to support the training of quick reaction forces assigned to carry the fight against terrorism throughout the world.

We recognize that we cannot succeed alone. If we are to have the best possible intelligence, we must pool our resources and share our knowledge with our friends and Allies. Central to this effort is the work of DIA and other members of the community with our NATO Allies to produce order of battle data, to provide indications and warning assessments, and to plan for effective intelligence support in the event of crisis or conflict. That is the kind of important work that will be conducted in this building.

It is never easy to do such planning—to prepare for the unpleasant possibility of conflict in times of peace. It is fitting to recall the words of Colonel Raynal Bolling for whom this whole base is named. A talented and patriotic American who gave his life in World War I. Colonel Bolling was an outspoken advocate of defense preparedness. Dismayed by the lack of support for our armed forces that he saw in 1916. Bolling said: "It is characteristic of a democracy like ours that people will not face facts. We go on hugging delusions and cherishing shams."

Today, we are facing the facts as a government and as a nation. We have begun rebuilding the defenses necessary to preserve freedom. And we not have this find defense intelligence analysis center to help us to understand the threat we face as we continue our defense program for the future.

And finally we are improving our command, control, communications and intelligence capabilities to insure that we respond to that threat in a timely and appropriate fashion. Only if we demonstrate that we are ready can we be sure of deterring aggression.

The defense intelligence analysis center we dedicate today is firm evidence that America intends to remain prepared. This is an appropriate occasion for us to resolve that we will continue to support the work of the dedicated professionals who will labor here... for us to resolve to heed the words of President Reagan: "Let us never forget that good intelligence saves American lives and protects our freedom."

Thank you.●

THE R&D TAX CREDIT—AN INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY

HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, the recent economic recession and our Nation's burgeoning trade deficit serve as painful reminders that the need for America's basic industries to remain competitive—both at home and abroad—is more pressing than ever before. Some of my colleagues will have the opportunity to enhance America's competitive posture when the House-Senate conference committee begins work this week on a compromise version of the tax bill. The House conferees will consider whether to adopt the Senate's recommendation that the R&D tax credit, currently scheduled to expire next year, should be made a permanent part of our Tax Code.

As a cosponsor of legislation making permanent the R&D tax credit (H.R. 4475) let me call to your attention an article concerning the R&D tax credit authored by Wayne R. Moore, president of Moore Special Tool Co., in Bridgeport, CT. The article, which appeared in a recent edition of *American Metal Market*, provides an excellent summary of why the credit is so vital to American industry. I am pleased to associate myself with Mr. Moore's comments and hope that my colleagues will take note of his insightful analysis:

PERMANENT TAX CREDITS FOR R&D ARE ESSENTIAL

McLEAN, VA.—Technological preeminence and a reputation for quality are impossible to maintain without investment in basic research and development.

Congress recognized the importance of such investment when, as part of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, it enacted a tax credit of 25 percent of research and development spending which exceeds a base period amount. The credit is under a "sunset" to expire next year.

However, omnibus tax legislation recently passed by the Senate includes the High Technology Research and Scientific Education Act, which makes the R&D credit permanent and enhances the deduction for corporate donations of state-of-the-art scientific equipment to post-secondary schools.

Currently at issue is whether these provisions should remain in the final version of the tax bill, which now is being hammered out in a House-Senate conference committee.

This legislation sends a strong signal to United States industry—a signal which clearly indicates that the U.S.'s position of technological leadership in the world is a compelling national priority. From the perspective of the machine tool industry, this is a timely signal and one which we are pleased to support.

While the industry has held fairly steady in its R&D expenditures throughout the last decade, in the circumstances we are now facing, particularly in light of last year's precipitous drop in shipments, it is far from clear that this trend will continue.

The result will be a vicious circle in which declines in sales and profits will retard technological advances, causing further declines in sales and profits, with the cycle continuing until the industry has fallen irretrievably behind its foreign competitors.

The risk that the domestic machine tool industry may thus be eclipsed by its foreign competition, as other once-strong U.S. industries already have been, has obvious importance for national security, an implication noted by Sen. Jack Danforth (R., Mo.) when he introduced the R&D tax legislation last year.

It is clear, therefore, that the necessity for R&D investments is greater than ever before. By making the R&D tax credit permanent, this legislation adds a crucial element which is now markedly absent from R&D planning—the element of certainty. With many machine tool companies literally at the crossroads, the certainty of a permanent and substantial R&D tax credit would undoubtedly foster more prudent business planning.

Certainly machine tool builders are aware that competitive pressures which the industry faces, and the attendant need to invest in R&D, will continue, whether or not the R&D tax credit is made permanent.

However, a permanent credit significantly enhances the industry's ability to make necessary R&D investments in a timely fashion during a period in which, competitively speaking, timing is everything. The sooner that certainty can be established, the sooner machine tool builders and others will be able to factor the availability of the credit into both long and short-range planning.

Also noteworthy is the legislation's extension of the R&D tax credit to startup corporations and research joint ventures comprised of corporations from different lines of businesses. Currently the credit applies only to those corporate joint ventures which might be termed "intra-industry." The act's extension of the credit would, for example, make it available to machine tool builders involved in joint ventures with manufacturers of computers, robotics and other advanced materials handling systems.

Joint ventures of this type will undoubtedly become more frequent as technology progresses—especially in the rapidly growing area of flexible manufacturing systems. Extending the credit in this fashion will benefit the industry and contribute significantly toward the achievement of the act's primary objective—the enhancement of U.S. technological competitiveness.

The legislation is also geared toward the promotion of university and scientific research.

Specifically, industry will benefit from the act's creation of credit equal to 25 percent of that portion of a corporation's payments to universities and other eligible institutions for basic research which exceeds a fixed, historical maintenance-of-effort floor.

This credit will undoubtedly promote greater collaboration by industry with universities on basic research projects, an objective which must be realized if industry is to make the most of the vast pool of potential university resources—resources which all too frequently remain untapped.

A more productive partnership between the industrial and educational communities will also be fostered by the act's enhanced deduction for state-of-the-art scientific equipment donations (including computer software) to post-secondary schools. This provision will help ensure that educational institutions are equipped with the very latest technology—a must if graduates are to be adequately prepared for industrial R&D.

But the act currently defines "state of the art" as equipment which is not more than three years old. I would suggest that a cut-off of three years is not necessarily an accurate reflection of how quickly technology actually moves in all industries.

Perhaps the better measuring stick is that of accelerated depreciation schedules, which in the case of machine tools is five years.

Machine tool builders and their customers would thus be encouraged not only to donate scientific equipment to a qualifying educational institution, but also to apply the savings resulting from that deduction toward the purchase of new equipment for their plants. This arrangement would be mutually beneficial to both the taxpayer and the recipient institution and could spur an enormously productive capital investment cycle.

As its detractors are quick to point out, enactment of this legislation will result in a loss of revenue to the Treasury—not an inconsequential concern in light of the enormous deficit we are currently confronting. However, the fact remains that the willingness and ability to invest in R&D requires a long-term outlook and an understanding that state-of-the-art technology and its potential for developing new products are essential for our economic survival.

What it all boils down to is a question of priorities—a modest short-term loss in exchange for a potentially robust long-term gain, which will manifest itself in terms of increased employment, enhanced productivity and competitiveness, a long overdue reduction in America's unprecedented trade deficit and, ultimately, an expanded tax base. ●

PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS PUTS FORWARD PEACE PLAN

HON. GERALDINE A. FERRARO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Ms. FERRARO. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, addressed the U.N. Security Council. The Security Council meeting had been called at the request of the Republic of Cyprus to discuss the latest Turkish provocations affecting that troubled island.

President Kyprianou stressed the need for prompt and effective actions by the world community to reverse the policies of the Turkish Government that threaten to destroy Cyprus as a unified, independent state. The President also announced that he would make public the proposal entitled "Framework for a Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem" which he had first submitted to the

U.N. Secretary General on January 11 of this year.

With the foreign aid bill pending before Congress and many Members of both Houses favoring strings on military aid to Turkey, I believe the "Framework" is a valuable addition to the debate. It clearly demonstrates the political will of President Kyprianou and his government to arrive at a solution to the Cyprus problem. It is a carefully constructed proposal which could provide the basis for productive discussions on this vexing problem.

The text of the "Framework" follows.

FRAMEWORK FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

1. A basic prerequisite to a solution of the Cyprus problem is for the Republic of Cyprus to be completely demilitarised. In the first instance all Turkish occupation troops should be withdrawn together with the colonizers imported from Turkey. At a later stage all troops provided for under the Treaty of Alliance (Greek and Turkish contingents) should be withdrawn, and the Cyprus National Guard and the so-called "Turkish Cypriot Security Force" should be disbanded. Demilitarisation is intended to contribute as an element of internal stability but also alleviate Turkey's paradoxical "fears" that Cyprus may be used against her militarily.

2. An International force under the auspices of the United Nations comprising men from countries with no direct involvement in the Cyprus problem should be stationed in Cyprus to secure its external defense and internal security. In addition, certain police duties could be allocated to it for an agreed period of time. This arrangement is not only essential for a solution to the Cyprus problem but it would also contribute the appropriate climate and conditions for the reunification of the country and the people. In such circumstances reconciliation and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots would be possible in a very short period of time.

3. The question of effective international guarantees is of great significance in view of the bitter experience of the past. The independence, territorial integrity, unity (and non-alignment) of the Republic of Cyprus should be guaranteed by International Treaty. Interested powers should be excluded from participating in the Treaty. The duty of the guarantors should be a collective one and the use of force should be specifically excluded from the possible courses of action in the enforcement of the Treaty.

4. The Republic of Cyprus should be a Federal State. In considering the territorial and constitutional arrangements of a Federal Republic of Cyprus, the basis for solving these issues, as in fact all other issues and aspects, are the Resolutions of the United Nations and the High-level Agreements (Makarios-Denktaş 1977 and Kyprianou-Denktaş 1979). In determining the territorial and constitutional issues the composition of the population of Cyprus must always be born in mind. An outline of the solution envisaged follows.

5. *Territorial Aspect.*—Despite the inherent dangers and constitutional difficulties involved in the concept of two regions or two provinces, yet this concept has been accepted.

It must of course be emphasized that the Turkish Cypriots constitute the 18% of the population of Cyprus. Colonizers from Turkey and any other persons imported into Cyprus since the invasion in 1974 can under no circumstances be regarded as Cypriots. Despite the fact that the ratio of the Turkish Cypriot population is only 18%, yet it has already been stated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 30 September 1983 that the Greek Cypriot side is willing to negotiate on the basis of 23% for the region or province to be under Turkish Cypriot administration. However, for the purpose of securing without delay an overall solution of the Cyprus problem, it would be possible to consider agreeing that 25% of the territory of the Republic be under Turkish Cypriot administration, provided that areas such as Famagusta and Morphou, which were thickly populated by Greek Cypriots, before they were forcibly uprooted from their homes by the Turkish invading forces, would be under Greek Cypriot administration.

6. *Constitutional Aspect.*—It should be borne in mind that, under a Federal system, the regions or provinces will have considerable autonomy and powers. Therefore, any checks and balances at the Federal level should be restricted and be of such a nature as not to impede the smooth functioning of the Federal Government organs or lead to impasses and deadlocks. This is particularly important since, in a federation, the powers and functions of the Federal organs are those which safeguard the unity of the State; and, therefore, if these functions are disrupted the State runs the danger of dissolution.

(1) Executive

The Presidential system provided under the 1960 Constitution is considered appropriate and should be preserved:

(a) There should be a President of the Republic, who should be a Greek Cypriot, and a Vice-President who should be a Turkish Cypriot.

(b) Provided that the process of taking decisions is such as not to lead to impasses and to the disruption of the smooth functioning of the State, the Federal Council of Ministers could include a higher proportion of membership of Turkish Cypriots than their population ratio, namely the Federal Council of Ministers would be composed of 70% Greek Cypriots Ministers and 30% Turkish Cypriots Ministers.

(2) Legislature

In the circumstances of Cyprus, it is considered that a Unicameral System is more appropriate. Mechanisms would be provided to ensure speedy resolution of any problems that might arise.

Alternatively, there could be a Bi-cameral System consisting of a lower chamber, representation of the two Communities to be on the basis of population ratio; and an Upper Chamber, representation in the Upper Chamber would depend on the powers and decisions of such Chamber and on the provision of deadlock-resolving mechanisms so as to ensure that the legislative process is not impeded.

(3) Judiciary

Equal representation of the two Communities in the Federal Supreme Court in respect of all federal matters.

(4) Powers and functions of federal government and provincial powers

The powers and functions of the Federal Government to be such as to ensure the

unity of the state. Indicatively, these should include:

- (i) Foreign Affairs (including Citizenship, but certain functions may be Provincially delegated);
- (ii) Federal Finance (including Customs);
- (iii) Defence and National Security;
- (iv) International Communications (air and sea);
- (v) International Telecommunications;
- (vi) Appointment of Federal Officers;
- (vii) Natural Resources;
- (viii) Federal Justice;
- (ix) Co-ordination, harmonisation, standard setting and advisory functions; and
- (x) Provision for transfers of powers from Federation to Provinces and vice-versa if agreed.

List of extensive Provincial Powers to be agreed.

(5) Human rights and fundamental freedoms

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (including the three freedoms of Movement, Settlement and Right of Property) should be safeguarded both at Federal and Provincial levels, and should form part of the Federal Constitution.

Any arrangements with regard to the three freedoms (of Movement, Settlement and Right of Property) should relate to overcoming certain practical difficulties in their implementation and should not negate or restrict them.

(6) Economic matters

The economic and social policy of the Federal Republic of Cyprus should ensure the economic progress and development of Cyprus as a whole and should safeguard for all citizens of Cyprus an equal standard of living and equal opportunities to progress, development and welfare. Suitable machinery should be established to implement this policy for the benefit of the whole population. Thus, economic assistance will be given to less economically developed areas. Furthermore, measures could be discussed of a temporary, transitional nature, in respect of the economy, to take effect after a solution.

REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, 11 January 1984.●

RECENT STUDY DOCUMENTS DAMAGE TO HEALTH CAUSED BY TOXIC WASTE

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw my colleagues' attention to the most recent study documenting the devastating effects on human health caused by toxic wastes. Researchers at Boston University found that residents of Lowell, MA, continued to experience unusual numbers of illnesses even after abandoned barrels of chemical waste were removed from a dump site in their community because toxic substances had leached into the air and the soil.

Studies like this one demonstrate the urgent need not only to accelerate the pace of cleanup of such sites, but also to afford relief to individuals injured by such dangerous exposure. I hope that all Members who are con-

cerned about these issues will join me in cosponsoring H.R. 5640, the comprehensive bill I have introduced to extend and expand the Superfund program. The Speaker has promised to bring this crucial legislation to the floor for a vote this summer so that we can protect our communities from the traumatic illnesses experienced by the people of Lowell, Mass.

An article describing the Lowell study in greater detail follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 27, 1984]

TOXIC WASTE DUMPS SUSPECTED OF AFFECTING HEALTH OF NEIGHBORS

(By Christine Russell)

NEW YORK.—"Mounting evidence" from studies of toxic waste dumps around the country "strongly suggest" that people living near them may suffer health effects from low-level exposure to the chemicals, a Boston University scientist said Friday.

Dr. David M. Ozonoff, head of the school's department of environmental health, said that the studies are preliminary but the consistency of adverse findings is "somewhat alarming."

Ozonoff released results from a study he headed at the abandoned Silresim chemical dump site in an urban residential neighborhood of Lowell, Mass.

He said that his eight-member team found that nearby residents experienced a higher-than-expected incidence of illness, even after abandoned barrels of chemical waste had been removed from the site.

Nearly two years later, adults in the community still complained of respiratory problems, unusual fatigue, bowel problems and headaches that the Boston scientists say may be linked to persistent low levels of chemicals in the air. Ozonoff said the airborne chemicals are noticeable by their odor and measurable with instruments.

He said the site was used in the 1970s by a chemical recycling plant that fell behind in its work and eventually went out of business. The state removed the containers but the soil remained contaminated, Ozonoff said. The area has been targeted by the Environmental Protection Agency for more thorough cleanup.

The Boston scientist cited other studies in Massachusetts, New York, Maine and Tennessee in which a range of short- and long-term health effects, including cancer and birth defects, have been reported in the vicinity of toxic waste sites.

His view of the health consequences was challenged by Bruce W. Karrh of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., who contended that the demonstrable health problems were "not of great magnitude . . . but there certainly is a problem of public perception."

Karrh and Ozonoff were part of a panel at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting here. The panel was organized by the Chemical Manufacturers Association and the Environmental Defense Fund. Despite their frequent disagreements, both groups "believe that the state of knowledge about health effects of hazardous waste" is inadequate, the fund's Ellen Silbergeld said.

The two groups earlier filed a joint suit against the Reagan administration that led to creation of the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry as part of the Centers for Disease Control. But Silbergeld said the agency is not receiving enough money to conduct studies.

She said that government statistics suggest that there are 10,000 to 15,000 chemical waste sites around the country, with 550 designated as high-priority sites for cleanup under the federal "Superfund" program.

But Silbergeld said that only 14 government health studies and a handful of others like Ozonoff's have been conducted. "There are millions of people potentially requiring study and very little likelihood this will happen," she said.

Such studies are difficult and costly and the results are usually controversial, not only scientifically but legally. Ozonoff said that the studies are not being done systematically, but instead are performed in communities such as Lowell that organize and "scream bloody murder."

Dr. Marvin Legator, a University of Texas physician appearing at another environmental health session here, said his group is preparing a "Health Detectives Handbook," to be published later this year, that will help concerned individuals conduct surveys of possible health effects in their communities. ●

AN IGNOMINIOUS SOLUTION

HON. JAMES M. SHANNON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recommend to the attention of my colleagues an article prepared by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a nonprofit research group, about the likely impact of last Thursday's vote approving \$62 million in military aid to El Salvador without conditions. The article demonstrates in compelling fashion that, as sincere and well-intentioned as President Duarte may be, the military elite will remain in effective power until the United States places stringent conditions on the aid it sends. You cannot stop murder in El Salvador simply by sending more guns. I urge my colleagues to read this article by Monica Kennon and Terrence Edward Paupp.

The article follows:

AN IGNOMINIOUS SOLUTION

(By Monica Kennon and Terrence Edward Paupp)

In its 267-to-154 vote favoring \$62 million in military aid to El Salvador without conditions on Thursday, the House has given the Reagan administration a blank check to carry forth a strategy aimed at a military, rather than a diplomatic solution to the Salvadoran civil war. The House also guaranteed that the 150,000 bullets that president-elect Jose Napoleon Duarte said are utilized daily by his country's security forces for hundreds, if not thousands of additional civilian deaths.

In addition, the House shamelessly permitted itself to be intimidated by the administration's concerted campaign of political extortion by suggesting, from the president on down, that if military aid for El Salvador and the Nicaraguan contras is not forthcoming, legislators will have to answer to their constituents at election time for any inaction that is "aiding in bringing Marxism to power in Central America."

Representatives who previously have been skeptical of the Reagan administration's true aims have been looking for an escape clause from what they see as their politically perilous position of over-exposure on the El Salvador-aid issue. Last week's visit to Washington by Duarte provided that opportunity. Duarte told key Hill leaders that he has the "guts" and the "will" to deal with human rights violations and the culture of violence afflicting his country. He also told them that any conditions attached to military aid would be "degrading" to El Salvador's sovereignty. His supposed sincerity evidently impressed members.

But Duarte's own assessment of his sincerity has never been the question with him. What has been at issue is his single-minded drive to be the leader of his country, regardless of degrading compromises, which he always has been prepared to make, in order to reach that goal. His reappointment of the country's controversial defense minister, Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova, as his first act as president-elect, is but the latest evidence of his long-time subservience to the Salvadoran military high command.

The recently declassified Tyler report on the quality of the investigation and prosecution of the murders of three U.S. nuns and one lay missionary on Dec. 2, 1980—much of which covers the period during which Duarte was the head of government—strongly implicates Vides Casanova, then a colonel and commander of the National Guard, in participating in the cover-up of the murders that began immediately after the five low-ranking national guardsmen committed the crime.

Given the class structure of the Salvadoran military and the enormous gulf between enlisted men and officers, it is inconceivable that five humble soldiers would decide on their own to murder four Americans, and particularly, four religious Americans. A parallel for this argument is that the January 1981 murder of two Americans working on land reform projects for AIFLD is universally believed to have been carried out by enlisted men on the orders of officers. There has been no movement on this case due to the privileged positions of the officers thought to have issued death orders.

INVESTIGATION ORDERS REBUFFED

Duarte told members of Congress that there was no coverup of the churchwomen's murders and that he personally had carried out an investigation that established this. But the Tyler report shows a president who gave repeated orders for such an investigation but did nothing to see that they were carried out, since the investigation was being undertaken by the very same military establishment that was implicated in these and thousands of other killings.

State Department figures issued at the time indicated that at least 12,500 persons were killed during Duarte's presidency from March of 1980 to March 1982, including 600 members of his own Christian Democratic Party. Other sources indicate that at least twice that figure occurred during this period. State's statistics are based on the tainted methodology of using limited press reports of murders in compiling its tally, leading to an erroneous compilation.

Former Ambassador Deane Hinton, a highly conservative foreign service officer, used a figure of 30,000 civilian deaths in a speech attacking the "gorillas" of the "rightwing mafia" in October 1982, stating that "these people were murdered, not killed in battle, murdered." His eventual recall from his post was in part due to the

Reagan administration's embarrassment—he was publicly reprimanded for his speech by the White House—over the discrepancy between Hinton's figure and that of the administration, which amounted to no more than 18,000 civilian deaths for the same period.

Every statistical base on killings in El Salvador—even those of the Reagan administration—indicates that the 150,000 bullets a day that Duarte says are fired by the security forces, whose continued supply was guaranteed by the House vote, can be counted on to kill far more civilians than guerrillas, since this is the record of the past. This disparity can be depended upon to continue due to the prevailing philosophy of the Salvadoran military, which is typified by a recent remark by Col. Domingo Monterrosa, commander of the Third Brigade and the field commander most admired by the Pentagon, despite his ruthless human rights record and his complicity in past massacres of civilians. Speaking about his military colleagues, Monterrosa stated that "they can now identify the enemy. The enemy is anybody who attempts to destabilize the country, whether they are communists or not."

THE PHANTOM REFORMER

From the outset of the Reagan administration, the strategy employed to sustain its embattled Central American policy has been to manipulate figures, make cosmetic gestures, come forth with promises of reform that later prove to be elusive, and produce rhetorical flourishes of new policies and new strategies that would end the reign of terror against the civilian population. Duarte always has lent himself to these efforts as a phantom reformer. He had originally come to power in March 1980, after the previous junta installed in October 1979 had resigned in January 1980 and a Christian Democratic junta had split in March over the same issue—the failure of the military to obey the civilian authorities.

Rather than a sincere and reliable democrat, Duarte consistently has shown himself to be a person prepared to accommodate himself to the national reality that it is the military that effectively rules as he reigns. As a result of his recent trip, Duarte fulfilled the mission layed on him by the Salvadoran military by bringing back the beef.

The recent shakeup in command, whereby several officers long accused of death squad affiliation will be posted abroad only continues a token response to the question of violence against which the Reagan administration launched a crusade last November. In spite of the strong language, this effort resulted in the transfer, to plush diplomatic positions abroad, of a grand total of three military officers. The reliance on violence by the Salvadoran military is structural, not epidermal; this is the way it has managed to effect its will over the nation for half a century. The military establishment, from the presiding colonels down through the officer corps and into the ranks of sergeants and corporals, looks upon itself as the favored class, with all avenues of corruption and power open to them.

Those members of Congress who voted for the administration's aid package succumbed to a carefully thought-out White House campaign to extract funds from an increasingly skeptical House of Representatives. Given Duarte's past record, there was no basis for Congress to suspend disbelief that anything of substance would change in the near future, only form. The Vides Casanova nomination to succeed himself as defense

minister is but the first indication that Duarte is conforming to personal patterns first revealed after March of 1980, to make feisty statements and speak about his personal course and commitments to democracy, but at the end acquiesce to military dominance. For its part, the military is prepared to permit Duarte to act out his presidential role, but not threaten the basic structure of its supremacy in the nation.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH CONDITIONS?

Duarte told Congress that attaching conditions to military and economic aid would be "degrading" to him and would compromise his nation's sovereignty. One would think that such a condition had long been achieved since Duarte himself was elected with the covert CIA campaign of dollars and with his nation totally dependent on U.S. economic and military assistance in order to survive.

And what is wrong with conditions? Every lending agency attaches conditions to its aid. This includes the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Agency for International Development (AID) and even the federal grants-in-aid program to states in this country. Conditionality in extending aid in a controversial and corrupt venue like El Salvador was certainly warranted. Congress knows that every day, innocent civilians are murdered by the security forces using U.S.-supplied weapons and ammunition, and thousands of dollars are wasted in bribery, malfeasance in public administration and other forms of corruption.

Congress also should know that Duarte's past record provides no certain basis for it to believe that the president-elect will be any more effective in the future than he has been in the past in dealing with human rights violations and security force brutality. The problem with conditionality in the past has not been that it has been ineffective in its own right; the weakness has been that the Salvadoran military was well aware that the Reagan administration had, in response to Congress' mandate, certified on four occasions that the human rights situation in the country had improved, when in fact it had not.

What was lacking in Congress' certification measures were teeth. Duarte could have been aided in his putative efforts to curb violence in his country if Congress had exercised its potential leverage and insisted on tough certification language and was prepared to cut off aid if security-sponsored violence didn't cease, and if other factors affected by the certification legislation hadn't improved. Duarte could then tell his military colleagues that Washington has mandated that violence must end, and that without such a step, the military was sealing its own fate. Instead, Congress succumbed to a White House strategy that guarantees the continued pattern of violence in the country and makes even more remote the prospect that peaceful change can occur in that afflicted nation.●

CITY BEAT

HON. ROBERT LINDSAY THOMAS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. THOMAS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the terrorist bombing of our Marine force in Lebanon produced

many acts of heroism on the part of our military personnel stationed there, and all Americans take great pride in the performance of our forces there.

I would like to take a moment to bring to my colleagues' attention the outstanding work accomplished on that tragic day by two medical officers, Lt. James Ware and Lt. Gilbert D. Bigelow. I am very proud of the fact that Lieutenant Ware is a resident of Savannah, GA, in my own congressional district.

We have a great tradition of unselfish service to our Nation on the part of the young men and women of Savannah and throughout Georgia. Lt. James Ware has added another chapter to the history of that tradition.

I ask that an article on this subject which appeared in the May 15, 1984, City Beat column of the Savannah Morning News, and in the May 7, 1984, edition of the American Dental Association News, be reprinted in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Savannah (GA) Morning News, May 15, 1984]

The heroic efforts of a Savannahian following the terrorists' destruction of the Marine Corps barracks in Beirut last October have come to light in detail in the current issue of *American Dental Association News*.

Lt. James Ware, whose father, Dr. Jack Ware, practiced dentistry in the Midtown Medical Center for many years, is one of two Navy dentists whose emergency medical work has been described as "nothing short of heroic" by William E. Mayer, M.D., assistant secretary of defense for health affairs.

"Without their professional training and foresight," Mayer said, "many more Marine lives could have been lost. We owe these young men a great debt."

Lt. Ware, along with Lt. Gilbert D. Bigelow (whose hometown is not listed in the publication), were quartered about 500 yards from the building that was blown up, taking the lives of more than 235 U.S. Marines. The two dentists had had emergency medical training given all military dentists in case of disasters such as that.

While Lt. Bigelow, aided by five hospital corpsmen, gave emergency medical treatment to some of the injured, Lt. Ware quickly set up a battalion aid station. Assisted by 10 hospital corpsmen and two dental technicians, he performed the initial "triage"—tagging and identifying patients as to the nature of their wounds, started intravenous procedures and providing other emergency care, such as splinting, controlling bleeding and administering morphine.

In the two hours following the bombing, Lts. Ware and Bigelow treated about 65 casualties and prepared them for evacuation by air. Navy medical officers arriving from U.S. ships lying offshore took over. The only on-scene medical officer with the Beirut Marine unit had been killed in the explosion.

[From the American Dental Association News, May 7, 1984]

NAVY DENTISTS DISPLAY HEROIC EFFORT IN LEBANON

WASHINGTON.—Two Navy dentists provided the first emergency treatment to victims of last fall's terrorist attack on the Beirut

Marine barracks, the Pentagon's top health official told the ADA News.

An official investigation of the military response to the tragedy declared the actions of the two dentists to be "nothing short of heroic," said William E. Mayer, MD, assistant secretary of defense for health affairs.

He identified them as Lt. Gilbert Bigelow and Lt. James Ware, Navy Dental Corps.

"I am sure that, without their professional training and foresight, many more Marine lives could have been lost," Dr. Mayer said. "We owe these young men a great debt."

He said the military provides emergency medical training to all dentists for just such disasters as the Beirut bombing.

When an explosion rocked the Beirut barracks that fall morning, Lt. Bigelow, aided by five hospital corpsmen, provided immediate emergency treatment to the victims.

Lt. Ware simultaneously set up a battalion aid station and, assisted by 10 hospital corpsmen and two dental technicians, performed the initial triage, tagged and identified patients, started intravenous procedures, and provided such other emergency care as splinting, controlling bleeding, and providing morphine, Dr. Mayer said.

The two dentists also prepared their patients for evacuation by air. "Drs. Bigelow and Ware and their assistants treated about 65 casualties in the first two hours following the explosion, when the last patients were evacuated and Navy medical officers arrived from ships offshore," Dr. Mayer said.

Dr. Mayer disclosed details of the Navy dentists' emergency care in an interview with the ADA News.

He said the only on-scene medical officer with the Beirut Marine unit had been killed in the explosion and that Lts. Bigelow and Ware were ashore that morning, within 500 yards of the barracks.

When the Marine camp in Beirut was first subjected to shelling, Dr. Mayer said, the Navy dentists, developed an emergency triage and aid plan in the event of a disaster. For days before the explosion they had trained extensively in emergency procedures and had cross-trained the corpsmen and dental technicians assigned to them, he said.

Each had been required to go through emergency medical training, which included a rotation through the emergency room of the Naval Hospital at Camp Lejeune, NC, Dr. Mayer said.

In fact, he said, all three services provide emergency medical training for dentists that includes hospital duty.●

SUPPORT OF AMENDMENTS TO BE OFFERED TO H.R. 5504, THE SURFACE TRANSPORTATION ACT OF 1984

HON. JAMES F. McNULTY, JR.

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, later this week, the House will consider H.R. 5504, the Surface Transportation Act of 1984. I am very concerned over a provision in the bill that changes the current method for allocating interstate highway repair funds. The program known as the 4R program—re-

surfacing, restoration, rehabilitation, reconstruction—will provide States with \$2.8 billion in Federal funds in fiscal year 1986.

H.R. 5504 changes the existing 4R formula. Current law is based on a distance factor—lane miles—and a usage factor—vehicle-miles traveled. H.R. 5504 drastically eliminates the distance factor—lane miles—altogether, and bases the formula solely on usage factors—vehicle-miles traveled, gasoline and diesel fuel use. The changes ignore the fact that lane miles, according to a December 1983 study prepared by the U.S. Department of Transportation regarding formula changes to the 4R program, meets all the necessary tests for a formula factor. In addition, there is a strong conceptual link between the lane-miles factor and the quality of the Interstate System.

This formula changes is inequitable to the West and to those areas less populated but with vast stretches of highway requiring general maintenance. The change will cost 15 Western States approximately \$203 million annually, or about one-third of the dollars which would otherwise be allocated to the States.

The same December 1983 study prepared by the U.S. Department of Transportation also concluded that:

The principle finding (of the study) is that dramatic improvement over the current formula is not likely to be achieved.

In short, no compelling case could be made for endorsing any specific change in the current formula at this time.

In light of the Department of Transportation's findings, there seems to be no logical reason to alter the 4R formula so radically. The proposed legislation would also eliminate entirely the one-half percent minimum allocation currently included in the formula. The existing one-half percent minimum provision assures small States a basic level of funding.

When this bill comes to the floor, I will attempt to amend the 4R formula to adhere more closely to the current formula. I will offer an amendment to either hold harmless States at their 1985 levels, or to change the formula to include the lane-miles factor, or to strike the new formula.

I am asking you to consider the impacts of this drastic change in the committee bill on the Federal highway system. I encourage you to support my efforts to bring the highway-repair formula back in line with the highway needs of this country. The following are the amendments I am considering offering to the bill, H.R. 5504, the Surface Transportation Act of 1984:

**AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 5504, AS REPORTED
OFFERED BY MR. McNULTY OF ARIZONA**

Page 40, strike out line 8 and all that follows through line 2 on page 41.

Redesignate the subsequent sections of title I accordingly.

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 5504, AS REPORTED,
OFFERED BY MR. McNULTY OF ARIZONA**

Page 40, line 26, after the period, insert the following: "Notwithstanding the preceding sentence, no State shall be apportioned less funds under this subparagraph for fiscal year 1986 and any subsequent fiscal year than were apportioned under this subparagraph to such State for fiscal year 1985."

**AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 5504, AS REPORTED,
OFFERED BY MR. McNULTY OF ARIZONA**

Page 40, line 20, strike out "gasoline" and all that follows through the semicolon on line 22 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "lane miles on such Interstate routes in each State bears to the total of all such lane miles in all States;"

Page 40, line 26, after the period, insert the following: "Notwithstanding the preceding sentence, no State (excluding any State that has no interstate lane miles) shall receive less than one-half of 1 per centum of the total apportionment made by this subparagraph for any fiscal year." ●

**THE FFTF SUCCESS STORY:
PROOF THAT THE BREEDER
REACTOR PROGRAM IS ALIVE
AND WELL**

HON. SID MORRISON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MORRISON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to alert my colleagues of the unparalleled operating success of the fast flux test facility—FFTF—this Nation's largest test reactor.

The FFTF is proof that our breeder reactor research and development program is alive and well and we can still lead the world in breeder fuel cycle development. After the Congress decided last year to terminate the Clinch River breeder reactor, I believe many felt that our entire breeder reactor program was also terminated. It is important for us all to understand the depth of commitment to the breeder program that remains, in spite of CRBR.

The crown jewel of our breeder program, Mr. Speaker, is the FFTF, a test reactor that has been rewriting the record books. This past spring, the fast flux test facility established a world record for the longest period of continuous, full power operation of a breeder reactor, 101 consecutive days.

Two articles from Energy Daily and Electrical World follow which describe in more detail the operating success of the FFTF and the entire breeder base research program. I commend them to my colleagues.

[From the Energy Daily, Apr. 2, 1984]

**AT FFTF, THEY FLIRT WITH THE FRONTIERS
OF FUELS AND STEELS**
(By Richard Myers)

The Fast Flux Test Facility rolled through another milestone in fine form last week. If the scientists' calculations are cor-

rect, as of last Thursday, fuel in at least one assembly in the test reactor's core reached a burn-up level of 100,000 megawatt days per metric ton, 20,000 megawatt days per ton beyond the design lifetime.

For comparison, the best today's light water reactors can manage is around 40,000 megawatt days per ton (MWd/t), with some hope of someday reaching 50,000-55,000 MWd/t. But for the FFTF, the 100,000-MWd/t threshold is just the beginning. The assemblies which reached the 100,000-MWd/t level last week will touch about 106,000 MWd/t by the end of the reactor's current test cycle (its fourth) in mid-April; two of them will be removed then for detailed examination, but others will stay in the core, pushing for 110,000 MWd/t, perhaps 120,000 MWd/t, maybe even 130,000 MWd/t by the end of the reactor's fifth operating cycle.

Beyond this lie new steels, which promise to allow even longer fuel burnup levels, since it is deformation of the steel used in the cladding and fuel assemblies which mostly limits fuel lifetimes. New alloys have been developed, some of which should be able to take 10 operating cycles, 200,000 MWd/t and higher, easily in stride.

Last week's achievement of 100,000 MWd/t is the first step in a calculated march by the scientists at FFTF towards fuels and alloys that can go for three years, and perhaps as long as five years. In purely scientific terms—leaving aside merely practical questions about when American utilities are likely to buy and build fast breeder reactors—three- or five-year core lifetimes would be a major triumph. Today's light water reactors run for 12-18 months, and then shut down for a month or more for refueling; tomorrow's breeder reactors may be able to run for three to five years between refuelings. The implications are profound: higher availability means lower-cost operation, and longer-lived cores reduce fuel fabrication and reprocessing requirements. If a core can run for three years instead of one, nuclear fuel fabrication and reprocessing capacity need only be one-third as large and cost only one-third as much.

The steels used in the Fast Flux Test Facility's core suffer continuous, savage punishment. When the reactor is operating, the fuel cladding grows so hot that it glows dull red. The cladding is also subject to increasing pressure pushing out from the inside—from the gaseous, liquid and solid fission products generated as the fuel is burned. And the fast neutrons fly around the reactor core at such a rate that each atom in the metal cladding is knocked out of its lattice site at least once a day.

Not surprisingly, under this kind of torture, steels swell and stretch. After two cycles in FFTF, fuel pins with cladding made of 316 stainless steel grow longitudinally by about half an inch; after three cycles, they've grown by as much as an inch. But "we can accommodate that," says a Westinghouse Hanford Co. scientist. "The big problem is the lateral expansion or swelling of the duct"—the outer shell of the fuel assembly which contains the 217 steel-clad fuel pins. If the duct swells too much, it snugs up against the adjacent fuel assemblies and cannot be pulled out of the reactor core.

After testing over 60 different alloys, the scientists at FFTF have settled on two new steels that seem able to dodge the perils of longitudinal "creep" and lateral swelling. One is called D9; although an austenitic steel like the 316, it differs subtly in compo-

sition and heat-treating, and seems to swell and creep less. The fuel assembly which first reached 100,000 MWd/t last week was fabricated with D9 duct material and 316 cladding. It is the "lead" driver assembly—the one that sees the highest neutron flux—and is now in its fourth 100-day cycle in the reactor. (Close behind in burnup level is another assembly with D9 duct and 316 cladding; then comes an assembly with 316 duct and 316 cladding; then an assembly with D9 duct and D9 cladding.)

The second alloy is called HT9 and, unlike the D9 and the 316, it is a ferritic stainless steel ("ferritic" and "austenitic" refer to the arrangement of the atoms in the metal). Although HT9 alloys do creep somewhat, for all practical purposes they do not swell. A fuel assembly fabricated with HT9 duct and HT9 cladding is now in its second cycle through the reactor, and is scheduled to remain in the core through 10 cycles in all. Westinghouse Hanford scientists reckon this alloy will be able to manage 200,000 MWd/t without too much trouble.

The fuel pellets which reached 100,000 MWd/t were manufactured by Babcock and Wilcox's Nuclear Materials Division, one of two suppliers of the mixed oxide fuel for FFTF. The other was Kerr-McGee—Westinghouse people at Hanford refer to this wryly as the "Karen Silkwood fuel"—and it has reached 97,000 MWd/t. The fuel assemblies now at 100,000 MWd/t reached their design burnup of 80,000 days last October, during the plant's third operating cycle.

[From the Electrical World, March 1984]

CRBR MAY BE DEAD, BUT BREEDER R&D SHOULD'N'T BE

(By William C. Hayes)

The strident chorus calling for the replacement of central generation by renewable resources masks the underlying reality that such resources simply cannot meet the anticipated energy needs of an expanding society. Careful analysis of Southern California Edison Co's ambitious plans for alternate energy sources—made within a political, social, and geographic ambience that uniquely favors such sources—confirms even there the need for substantial additional central-station energy. It is simply unbelievable that, in this situation, we have chosen to turn our backs on a truly renewable energy source—the breeder reactor.

I recently traveled to Hanford, Wash., to see how the demise of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor (CRBR) had affected breeder research at the Fast Flux Test Facility (FFTF). I found a facility in an exciting technological ferment, but one deeply concerned about the nation's lack of commitment to this vital research.

The breeder reactor was said to be unsafe. Yet I stood just a few feet directly above the operating core, knowing that I was receiving less radiation by far than I had received while flying there. If only light-water reactor installations had been similarly demystified, by allowing open access to safe areas of the plants, public acceptance might have been infinitely greater. I also examined test data on the FFTF and saw that, even when all sodium pumps were shut down and the reactor scrambled, natural circulation of the sodium kept core temperature stabilized at a safe level.

But perhaps what doomed the CRBR as much as the charges of its being unsafe was the "technological turkey" tag that was cleverly hung on it. In reality, the design was continually updated, so that its technology was always at the leading edge of breed-

er research in the world—and, as embodied in the latest modifications of the FFTF, still is.

Sitting in tanks at the US government's enrichment plants at this moment is enough Uranium 238—the tailings from the enrichment process—to represent the equivalent of about \$70-trillion worth of oil, even at today's depressed prices. This U-238 is a natural feedstock for a breeder, which can tap this energy.

It is inconceivable to me that a national resource of this magnitude—one that is good for no other purpose—can be ignored while the quality energy that we will inevitably need is to be supplied by technologies that are too expensive, too unreliable, too polluting, or in inadequate supply.

The critics of the breeder say that we don't need it. This is arguable. But we didn't—and don't now—need the space program. Yet the advances spun off from that program have drastically changed—for the better—the lives of us all.

America can stand by and allow the dissipation of the priceless technological resource represented by the scientists and engineers in the breeder program. Or we can stand tall in the forefront of scientific nations and revitalize that program. That, unfortunately, will take time; until we can accomplish it, we must ensure the continued support of the FFTF. ●

SUPPORT PASSAGE OF H.R. 5490

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to seek the attention of my colleagues of this House to critically important legislation to strengthen enforcement of key Federal antidiscrimination statutes. H.R. 5490 has received extensive review by both the Judiciary Committee and the Committee on Education and Labor. It has the strong and bipartisan endorsement of those bodies and can boast 163 current sponsors and cosponsors. All hope this proposal can receive priority consideration and passage by the full House.

I urge my colleagues to review this legislative proposal and to support its passage. In light of the Supreme Court decision in the Grove City College against Bell case, we must act promptly to restore a broad scope of enforcement to back our commitment to insure equal opportunity in our country.

Cicero, Rome's greater orator and staunch defender of Republican principles, may have best expressed the need for these law:

What people have always sought is equality of rights before the law. For rights that were not open to all alike would be no rights.

The flame of truth that burns so brightly in these words has not been diminished or dulled by the passage of over 2,000 years.

Through our advocacy on behalf of H.R. 5490, we endeavor to restore the

scope of four preeminent Federal anti-discrimination statutes. These laws include title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. Each of these contains language to allow the withdrawal of Federal funding from institutions receiving Federal support as an enforcement tool to bring an end to discriminatory practices. We have never discriminated in the collection of revenues from the taxpaying public and we have a moral obligation to insure that none of these funds support institutions engaging in discriminatory actions denying equal opportunity on the basis of race, sex, religious affiliation, national origin, age, or disabling condition.

The laws we seek to protect are the offspring of reasonable people. All but the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were signed into law by Republican Presidents. Protections from racial discrimination were promoted and their legal effect brought to life by the pen a Southern Democrat President, Lyndon B. Johnson. The support of Republicans and arduous work by a strong bipartisan coalition were needed to fulfill that dream. Judiciary Committee ranking minority member William R. McCulloch, Republican from Ohio was a most able warrior in the cause of passage. On February 10, 1964, 78 percent of Republican Members of the House supported passage of the Civil Rights Act.

In the Senate, the greatest barrier to passage of this legislation was the threat of filibuster. The cloture motion essential to passage of the bill was jointly filed by Senator Mansfield, Democrat from Montana, and Senator Dirksen, Republican from Illinois. Republican Members of that body supported that motion by a 4-to-1 margin. For the first time in history, a cloture motion to cut-off a filibuster on civil rights legislation was successful.

In both our House and in the Senate, Republicans provided 4-to-1 margins in support of final passage of that act.

It is doubly important to note these facts. First, because title VI of the Civil Rights Act became the model for the provisions of all three other anti-discrimination statutes. Second, to remind all of the historic allegiance of my party to insuring progress toward the full realization of our commitment to equality under the law.

What could be closer to the principles of the Republican Party than an effort to protect the principle of equal opportunity for all individuals. In throwing off the tyrannical rule of hereditary monarchy, our forebearers sought the advantage of a society where each was free to perform to the limit of his or her abilities and not

limited based on the color of skin, religious affiliation, gender, handicap, or age.

Some of my colleagues have questioned the contention that this bill simply restores the scope of enforcement that existed under these laws prior to the Grove City College decision. They read the existing law narrowly, as did the Supreme Court, and reject the argument made by proponents that these bills merely restore the scope of these laws. However, if we should grant this point for purposes of debate, we have merely concluded what the law was. What is at issue here is what the law should be. The law should be broad. We should not provide any Federal support to institutions that discriminate. If you accept these principles, there is no reason to withhold your support for this important measure.

Administration spokesmen have cast this as a measure in conflict with principles which support a restrained Government which does not unnecessarily meddle in the affairs of the individual. What governmental action could be more appropriate and necessary than insuring Federal funds are not used to support illegal discrimination? I can think of no function of Government more appropriate in a free society than action to insure equality of opportunity.

To my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, I urge you to once again embrace that principle. In particular, to those who have spoken out forthrightly in support of their belief in the need to an opportunity society, I look forward to joining with you in implementing that principle through adoption of this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope we will promptly consider and approve H.R. 5490 at the earliest possible date.●

VIGIL FOR THE SAKHAROV CONTINUES

HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, the free world is anxiously awaiting word as to the condition of Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner. It is now 5 weeks since he began his hunger strike, and 4 weeks since Irina Kristi smuggled a message from him out of the closed city of Gorky. His family and friends in the West have been unable to communicate with him. Both Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner were in poor health to begin with; their courageous hunger strike puts them at even greater risk. The official Soviet news organs assure us that all is well, but these assurances, like other pronouncements in the official Soviet press, are worth-

less. It has been reported in the West that Sakharov is already dead; let us all hope this is not true.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for the Soviet Union to come clean. They should release accurate information as to the Sakharovs' condition. They should, furthermore, release the Sakharovs themselves, and allow them to live in peace. The Washington Post yesterday addressed the plight of this couple in a lead editorial. I ask that this excellent piece be reprinted here.

[From the Washington Post, June 5, 1984]

WHERE IS ANDREI SAKHAROV?

Where is Andrei Sakharov, and where is his wife, Yelena Bonner, and are they dead or alive? It is necessary to address these stark questions on an urgent basis to the Soviet government because, in the blackout it has imposed on the whereabouts and condition of the dissident physicist and his wife, rumors of his death are now circulating. This is an especially cruel form of cat-and-mouse to play with the Sakharov family, not least those members of it living abroad. In this period of nightmare they have been denied even the episodic state-regulated telephone contact they were allotted before.

Andrei Sakharov is 63 and has in his medical history what is described as a small heart attack and a recent bout of phlebitis, not to speak of the stresses attendant on four years of internal exile. Tomorrow ends the fifth week from the start of the hunger strike he reportedly began in order to obtain permission for his wife to travel abroad for medical and family purposes.

Yelena Bonner herself is also reported to have gone on a hunger strike. She is going blind from the chronic ailment for which she sought medical treatment abroad, according to the best information available. She has had three heart attacks over the past 13 months and—before her recent enforced separation from her husband—was suffering frequent anginal episodes. These are the foils on which the great Soviet state has chosen to exercise the full arbitrariness of its power.

Again yesterday the Soviet government mocked reports of the Sakharovs' endangerment and death, saying that neither was fasting and both were in good health. The statement went on to attribute the West's concern to the Reagan administration's political machinations. Plainly the Soviet leadership is smarting under the tremendous worldwide beating it has taken—not least in the precincts of the democratic left where its "peace" policy is normally focused—for its mean-minded persecution of two human beings of su. passing dignity.

But the Kremlin still shrinks from acknowledging that its unverified word has no standing in public opinion anywhere. Until it chooses to allow the Sakharovs to communicate directly to those who care whether they live or die, others will have to assume the worst.●

GILMAN LAUDS FOSTER GRAND- PARENT PROGRAM OF WEST- CHESTER COUNTY

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in recognition of the invaluable contributions of the Foster Grandparent program of Westchester County. In this program men and women of 60 or more years young bring their love and experience to children with special needs. Foster Grandparents serving physically, mentally and/or emotionally handicapped children are often the first individuals able or willing to spend the time necessary to give each participant a new perspective on the beauty of life.

There are 305 Foster Grandparents working in 98 sites in Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess, Ulster, Sullivan, and Orange Counties under the aegis of the Westchester community opportunity program; 212 of our Foster Grandparents live and work in Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess Counties and are assigned to Westchester Co-Op; 93 Foster Grandparents in Ulster, Sullivan, and Orange County work under the sponsorship of Westchester Co-Op under a caretaker grant.

Our Westchester based Foster Grandparent program is an excellent example of the many benefits to be gained from volunteerism. The selfless devotion of its members sets standards worthy of our appreciation and gratitude, and I know that my colleagues join with me in congratulating them on their fine work. I am pleased to have this opportunity to publicly thank them for all of their accomplishments and many contributions to our community over the years.

Their year will close with a gala recognition party on June 15 at Rudy's Beau Rivage in Dobbs Ferry honoring these wonderful Foster Grandparents. I ask my colleagues to join in saluting them on this occasion and wishing them the best of success in any of their future endeavors.●

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

HON. DONALD J. PEASE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, some 23 years ago, President Dwight Eisenhower, in his farewell address, made reference to what he called the military-industrial complex.

His concerns came to mind last week as the House of Representatives continued to work its way through the fiscal year 1985 authorization bill for the U.S. Department of Defense.

This is the topic that I addressed in my most recent weekly newspaper column. It follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT
(By Don J. Pease)

Some 23 years ago, President Dwight Eisenhower, in his farewell address, made reference to what he called the military-industrial complex.

These were his words:

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

I thought of President Eisenhower's concerns last week as the House of Representatives continued to work its way through the fiscal year 1985 authorization bill for the U.S. Department of Defense.

There is indeed a military-industrial complex which promotes ever greater Federal spending for new weapons systems. Generals and admirals in the Pentagon work with former generals and admirals, now retired, who serve as corporate executives of large defense contracting firms. Cozy cooperation is common.

But President Eisenhower's term wasn't altogether complete. To be realistic, he should have referred to it as the military-industrial-congressional complex. Yes, Members of Congress are part of a system which has a built-in bias toward greater defense spending.

This is especially true of the House Armed Services Committee, whose members tend to be strongly pro-defense.

Normally, new Congressmen are entitled to indicate their preferences for committee assignments, and House leadership tries to honor the requests.

In general, the Armed Services Committee draws members who believe strongly in a large national defense. On top of that, many Congressmen seek membership on the committee specifically because of large military bases or defense contractors located in their districts.

For these Congressmen, representing their districts means keeping military bases open, even if efficiency experts recommend closing them. It means keeping airplane assembly lines operating, whether or not the airplanes are needed. The Congressmen willingly cooperate with the Pentagon brass and corporate executives to see to it that existing weapons systems are retained and that new ones are proposed.

Service on the Armed Services Committee is not, I emphasize, purely a pork-barrel exercise. Committee members gain a great amount of expertise on defense matters. They do try to assure that the United States has a strong, efficient national defense, and they do bear in mind the national interest.

But it would be foolish to forget the strong prodefense and prohome district motivation which influences most members of the Armed Services Committee. For those of us not on the committee, there needs to be a degree of skepticism mixed in with respect for the committee's expertise.

That's why there is always spirited debate in the House over individual weapons sys-

tems—such as the MX missile and the B-1 bomber—recommended by the House Armed Services Committee.

Even among nonmembers of the committee, the military-industrial-congressional complex can be seen at work. Components of the MX and B-1 are manufactured in dozens of factories spread through dozens of congressional districts. The generals and defense contractors are not shy about reminding Congressmen of the job impact of those weapons systems.

Many Congressmen hesitate to open themselves to a possible accusation of causing the loss of 100 or a 1,000 or 5,000 jobs in their districts. Such considerations surely were responsible for saving the B-1 bomber from cancellation in past years and for the closeness of votes on the MX, for which it is increasingly clear that there is no sensible military justification. ●

CRAIGE MADE TOWN HIS TOP
PRIORITY

HON. W. G. (BILL) HEFNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, it is with sadness that I report to the Congress the death of a fine mayor from my home district. The passing away of Benjamin F. Craige, Sr., is of significance to the U.S. House of Representatives and therefore the entire Nation because he lived by the principles which all public officials should follow. As mayor of East Spencer in Rowan County, NC, Benjamin Craige, Sr., often rode the city's streets making sure the grass was cut and holes were patched where they should be. He often ate lunch with city street employees and he liked to walk down by the post office in East Spencer and talk to the townspeople. He went to the municipal building every day, making a point to meet informally with each department.

A man who added these personal touches to his administration did so because he wanted to stay close to the community he served, and because he simply liked people. Mayor Benjamin F. Craige, Sr., had the strength which is so important in a public servant. He cared about his community. East Spencer will always be a little richer because he did.

The article follows:

CRAIGE MADE TOWN HIS TOP PRIORITY

(By Mark Wineka)

EAST SPENCER.—Benjamin F. Craige Sr. often told his friends and family that he had come to his senses when he was 9 years old.

As a young boy in East Spencer, he had seen his grandmother, on her way to work, shuffling through snow that was up past her knees. She protected herself against the cold by wrapping herself in a burlap bag.

The picture stayed with Craige.

"He knew what he had to do in life was take care of himself," Craige's son, Benjamin Jr., said.

The town of East Spencer dedicated its gospel concert at Royal Giants Park Saturday evening to the memory of Craige, who died Saturday morning of cancer. He had been East Spencer's mayor since December 1981.

"You just had to know him to appreciate the type of man he was," the son added Saturday. "He was a really strong man."

His death caught East Spencer residents by surprise. Mayor Pro Tem Charles Ramsey said the softspoken mayor had made the advancement of the town his top priority.

"You don't find many men in 1984 that were as sincere as he was," Ramsey added. "I'm sure the spirit of Craige will continue to echo in the municipal building."

While Ramsey called him an "easy-going, one-of-a-kind type, Town Clerk Barbara Mallett described Craige as "an in-town mayor" who often rode the city's streets making sure the grass was cut and holes were patched where they should be.

"I think his favorite department was the street department," Mrs. Mallett said.

STREET EMPLOYEES

Craige often ate lunch with the street employees, and he liked to walk down by the post office and talk to the townspeople. He went to the municipal building every day, making a point to meet informally with each department, Mrs. Mallett said.

"He always wrote down everything," Mrs. Mallett said. "I don't care if he was just sitting there talking to you, he would write it down."

When Craige first assumed the office of mayor, he walked into town hall with notes he already had taken from his conversations with aldermen, Mrs. Mallett said.

A retired mathematics teacher, Craige also had a fondness for figures. He could add faster than her calculator, Mrs. Mallett said.

With Craige doing the figuring and Mrs. Mallett furnishing him the information, the pair prepared the town's budget themselves, eventually bypassing the need for an auditor's office to type it.

Craige's main objectives as mayor were to finish several projects initiated before he took over: erection of a new water tank, new water-sewer lines, the completion of the swimming pool at Royal Giants Park and construction of a municipal building. And he lived to see those projects completed. He also lived to preside over a few town board meetings in the new \$290,000 municipal building.

Next, he wanted to see these projects paid for, Mrs. Mallett said, adding the mayor laid the framework that aldermen can follow for meeting the town's debt service fund. She credited Craige for leaving East Spencer in sound financial condition.

SHARED OBJECTIVES

Ramsey said he was in total support of Craige's administration and that they shared many of the same objectives. He expressed regret that Craige's death occurred just as several positive things were happening in the town.

Craige entered East Spencer's political life in stormy fashion, in the midst of some turmoil on the town board between the late Alderman James W. McIlwaine and former Mayor Reginald Massey. First, McIlwaine challenged Massey's residency and his right to run for mayor. The challenge failed.

Then, in the 1981 election, Craige defeated Massey by just seven votes, and supporters of Massey challenged the final result.

The Rowan County Elections Board later upheld the election, naming Craige the winner.

Hearing that news, Craige clenched his fist for a photographer's camera and promised, "I'm going to straighten up that place (East Spencer). You dig me?"

Benjamin Craige Jr. said his 66-year-old father was a family man, a man who helped many people financially and spiritually. He added that the mayor probably had the sharpest mind of any person he had ever met.

Craige worked for Southern Railway before losing his job when Spencer Shops phased out its operations. At 42, he went back to school, graduating from Livingstone College and teaching mathematics in North Carolina for about five years. Then, he enrolled at the University of Cincinnati, where he earned his master's degree. He continued teaching in Ohio schools for 13 years, years filled with constant travel between Ohio and his home in East Spencer. On retiring, he decided he had the qualifications to help East Spencer's town government.

"And the people liked him because they knew he could do things he said he was going to do," Mrs. Mallett said.

The cancer, which claimed Craige's right eye in 1982, took his life quickly. Town employees had no idea how sick Craige was, Mrs. Mallett said.

Craige is survived by his wife, Olivia, and three children, nine grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.●

SUPPORT FOR "COP KILLER" BULLET BAN GROWS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the New York State Assembly unanimously passed a resolution last month calling on the Congress to approve legislation authored by myself and Senator MOYNIHAN (H.R. 953/S. 555) that would outlaw armor-piercing cop killer bullets which can penetrate the bullet-proof vests worn by police.

The action taken by the New York State Assembly is indicative of the widespread support this legislation has received from across the Nation. Consider, for example, that 10 States, as well as a number of localities, have already outlawed these awesome projectiles. Those States include Alabama, California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Texas.

H.R. 953 currently has 182 cosponsors and its Senate companion measure, S. 555, has 18 cosponsors. In addition to this overwhelming congressional support, this legislative effort has been endorsed by more than 150 editorial boards throughout the Nation.

Further, H.R. 953/S. 555 have been endorsed by major law enforcement organizations across the country, including the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Fraternal

Order of Police, the International Union of Police Associations, the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, the National Association of Police Organizations, the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association, the National Sheriffs' Association, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, and the Police Executive Research Forum.

An April 16 letter signed by top officials from the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs' Association, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, and the Police Executive Research Forum clearly stated the police community's concern on this issue. In part, their letter stated:

On behalf of our respective members, we, the undersigned, would like to express our support of S. 555/H.R. 953, the Law Enforcement Officers Protection Act . . . Federal legislation to ban armor-piercing bullets must be passed. We recognize that there are problems in defining those bullets that will be banned, but we feel that it is time to put all reservations aside in order to provide the maximum protection possible to the dedicated men and women who daily risk their lives for the welfare and protection of our citizens. As long as the manufacture and sale of armor-piercing ammunition remains unregulated, the possibility that a law enforcement officer will be killed or seriously wounded remains unacceptably high.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the House Subcommittee on Crime, chaired by my good friend and distinguished colleague (Mr. HUGHES), is now in the process of developing modifications to my bill to insure that ammunition used for legitimate purposes is not affected by H.R. 953, and the administration has agreed to work with them in this worthy endeavor. I fully support this commitment to overcome the definitional problems that have plagued my effort to outlaw cop killer bullets. In fact, I have long stated my willingness to accept modifications to H.R. 953, so long as those changes do not alter the intent of the legislation—namely, to make it as difficult as possible for criminals to obtain cop killer bullets, without infringing on the rights of legitimate gun users, rights which I fully support.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to insert a copy of the New York State Assembly resolution calling for the enactment of a Federal ban against armor-piercing cop killer bullets:

STATE OF NEW YORK LEGISLATIVE RESOLUTION

Whereas, Armor-piercing "cop killer" hand gun bullets are among the weapons used by bank robbers, gangsters and drug dealers in thousands of crimes committed against citizens of New York state each year; and

Whereas, These teflon-coated KTW bullets can penetrate the protective vests worn by police officers and bank guards, and can maim or kill innocent persons; and

Whereas, These bullets are easily obtained in many gun shops across New York state and the country; and

Whereas, Banning the manufacture, importation and sale of ammunition that can penetrate the most common police vest, when fired from a handgun with a barrel less than five inches long, would save a great many lives in New York state and across the country; and

Whereas, The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States would be able to designate the specific ammunition to be banned; and

Whereas, New York State Congressman Mario Biaggi and Senator Daniel P. Moynihan have submitted legislation (H.R. 953; S. 555) before the Congress of the United States, which amends the Act that may be cited as the "Law Enforcement Officers Protection Act of nineteen hundred eighty-three"; and

Whereas, Numerous cities, counties, states and organizations including the Police Conference of New York, Inc., the Metropolitan Police Conference of New York State, Inc., The Fraternal Order of Police, The International Brotherhood of Police Officers, The International Union of Police Associations and the National Association of Police Organizations have endorsed this legislation; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this legislative Body pause in its deliberations to memorialize the United States Congress to ban armor-piercing handgun ammunition from here on; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this Resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted to Congressman Mario Biaggi and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.●

A TRIBUTE TO MR. DAN BYRNE

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor of Mr. Dan Byrne, a resident of Santa Monica, CA, whom I am proud to say is a constituent of mine. Mr. Byrne has accomplished something that few people have ever done—he has successfully sailed around the world in a single handed sailboat race—the BOC Challenge.

The race took place in 1982-83. Five American boats entered the race, and only two completed the race. In all, there were 17 boats at the start, and only 10 left at the finish line.

Single handing a sailboat around the world is no minor venture. In fact, Sir Francis Chichester was knighted for that achievement.

It is a pleasure to share Mr. Byrne's achievement with my colleagues in the House of Representatives, and I ask that they join me in commending him for his successful voyage.●

IMMIGRATION RELIEF FOR
RICHARD JOHN LONGSTAFF

HON. MICKEY LELAND

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LELAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention a bill I introduced today concerning the pending deportation of one of my constituents, Mr. Richard John Longstaff.

Mr. Longstaff has lived in this country for 19 years. He has a home and business here. Yet, he now faces deportation because he is a homosexual.

When Mr. Longstaff entered this country he was not asked about his sexual orientation. Rather, he was asked if he was "afflicted with a psychopathic personality." Not considering his homosexuality to be a mental disorder, Mr. Longstaff replied "no" to the question. Afterward, in 1965, a clarification was added to the law citing "sexual deviation" as a ground for exclusion. Mr. Longstaff voluntarily disclosed his homosexuality when applying for citizenship a number of years ago. It was never his intention to deny his sexual orientation.

Last Tuesday, May 29, 1984, the Supreme Court chose not to review a lower court decision that denied Mr. Longstaff citizenship based on his homosexuality.

It is true that the Immigration and Naturalization Service can deny persons admission into this country as well as citizenship on the grounds of sexual deviation, despite the fact that the medical community has not considered homosexuality a mental disorder for over a decade. This practice of denying immigration and citizenship on the basis of an applicant's sexual orientation is blatantly discriminatory.

Last year my colleague from California, the Honorable JULIAN DIXON, introduced H.R. 2815, a bill to amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act to repeal the provisions excluding aliens from admission into this country solely on the ground of sexual preference. A similar measure is pending in the Senate.

The issue at hand is not the morality of homosexuality. Rather, the issue is one of the civil liberties—an individual's right to privacy. Why does our great Nation deem it necessary to inquire of a potential immigrant his or her sexual habits, and then use the reply as a ground for exclusion? Clearly, something is wrong.

Passage of antidiscrimination measures in the Immigration and Naturalization Act is important. However, in the meantime, it is vital that we not allow the case of Mr. Longstaff to deteriorate. Here is a man who has made a home for himself in this country; a man who has created jobs for a number of this Nation's citizens in his businesses; a man who now faces de-

portation because of his sexual habits. Mr. Longstaff's situation is one that deserves our immediate attention.

I believe, as the Washington Post editorialized the day after the Supreme Court decision, that homosexuality is "neither an economic burden nor a threat to the national health or security. It should not be grounds for automatic exclusion."

My bill would provide for the relief of Mr. Richard John Longstaff, canceling any outstanding orders and warrants of deportation.

I encourage my colleagues to read the following Washington Post editorial published on May 30, 1984, concerning the case of Mr. Longstaff. There is one error in the editorial, however, Longstaff was not denied citizenship because he replied "no" when asked if he had a "psychopathic personality." Longstaff was denied citizenship because he is a homosexual.

[From the Washington Post, May 30, 1984]

EXCLUDING HOMOSEXUALS

Richard Longstaff immigrated to this country from England in 1965. He settled in Texas and now owns clothing stores and hair-dressing salons in Dallas and Houston. But on Tuesday, the Supreme Court let stand a court decision denying him citizenship because, when he entered the country, he answered "no" to the question "Are you afflicted with a psychopathic personality?" Mr. Longstaff is homosexual.

The courts deal with statutes enacted by Congress, and Congress clearly wanted to exclude homosexuals when the McCarran Act, with its archaic classification of mental disorders, was passed in 1952. The policy was reaffirmed in more specific language 13 years later when "sexual deviation" was added to the list of conditions resulting in exclusion. Since courts are unlikely to overturn the law on constitutional grounds, Congress ought to change the law. This provision makes no sense in this day and age.

Why do we exclude certain categories of immigrants from our country? Some are rejected for past criminal conduct, or because they have communicable diseases or will become public charges or threats to national security. Homosexuals as a class do not fit any of these descriptions. The medical profession has, for almost a dozen years, refused to consider this condition a mental disorder, and since 1979 Public Health Service doctors have refused to conduct medical examinations of persons suspected by the INS of being homosexuals.

The law, therefore, is now being enforced in an arbitrary and unfair manner. Some would-be immigrants are denied admission on the supposition of an INS officer, others because they are truthful. Those who steadfastly deny their homosexuality usually pass inspection as this man might have done had he not been honest on his citizenship application.

Sen. Alan Cranston has introduced a bill to remove homosexuals from the list of aliens who are automatically excluded, but there is little support from his colleagues. His proposal to end discrimination against this category of immigrants deserves better. Most Americans now view homosexuality on the part of consenting adults as a personal and private matter. It is neither an econom-

ic burden on the public nor a threat to the national health or security. It should not be grounds for automatic exclusion.●

OLYMPIO AND LEAH SALTARELLI CELEBRATE 50 YEARS OF WEDDED BLISS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is all too rare an occasion these days to have an opportunity to help celebrate 50 years of love and devotion between two old and dear friends. Olympio and Leah Saltarelli of Pittsfield, MA, will mark that milestone on June 12. At this time, I would like to mark publicly this milestone.

REMARKS OF HON. SILVIO O. CONTE AT THE 50TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF OLYMPIO AND LEAH SALTARELLI

I'd like to thank Marty and Sis for inviting me to play a small part in this celebration of fifty years of love, warmth, and caring between two of our favorite people, Shebe and Leah.

I know that for some of you younger people, fifty years is almost unimaginable—especially when put in the context of sharing them with one person! Well, to help the younger people understand, and for the purpose of "walking down Memory Lane" with some of the older folks, I did a little research to illustrate the world and Pittsfield of 50 years ago.

Perhaps the highlight of 1934 in Pittsfield, except, of course, for Leah and Shebe's wedding, was Jack Dempsey's short but exciting visit to our home city. Promoter Frankie Martin had arranged for Dempsey to come to referee a bout at the Pittsfield Auditorium between Red Reilly and The Turk. Dempsey stopped that fight and awarded it to The Turk on a foul for what he called "dirty fighting." As Dempsey called the fight, however, Reilly got mad, and knocked Dempsey to the mat. Dempsey recovered in time to swing a left and knock Reilly out cold. Reilly was still out on the mat as Dempsey drove home from Pittsfield.

In 1934, you could go to the Linden Cash Market and buy turkey for 27 cents a pound, or sirloin steak for 19 cents a pound. At Ruberto's Cash Market coffee was 17 cents a pound and 10 pounds of sugar would run you 49 cents.

For a short vacation, you could hop the old Boston and Albany Railroad on a special round trip, five day excursion fare to Boston for \$3.75. And, if you wanted to drive for yourself, the Ford Motor Company previewed the 1935 V-8 automobile that sold for \$570.00.

But, we can't let those low prices make us believe that life was very easy in 1934. At that time, Pittsfield was just coming out of the Great Depression. In fact, unemployment relief was the city's chief problem—meeting unemployment rolls that totalled \$1,463,913. And even though Proposition 2½ wasn't even a glimmer in the eye back then, thirty-three teachers were laid off due to budget cutbacks that year.

One of the signs that 1934 meant new hope in Pittsfield was the success of a res-

taurant called "The New Deal", located on West Street that offered a Wednesday night Spaghetti special with all the trimmings for 40 cents. Another bright sign was a 10.6% increase in Pittsfield's employment rate, and another was a boom in single family home construction in the area—for homes that cost less than \$3,000.

But the brightest sign of 1934 was the springtime, and the love that blossoms with it. Young men, sensing better times ahead, took brides at an increasing rate. Among them, fifty springs ago, were Olympio and Leah Saltarelli who took their vows on the 12th day of June.

So much is written about love—that it's always in the air, that it's a many splendored thing, and on and on—but nothing describes love better than to look at Shebe and Leah today, among their many friends and family members, their children and grandchildren, on this very special day. Unlike pounds of sirloin steak, the value of love has never changed—it is both the cheapest and most expensive commodity on earth. It costs nothing to acquire, but its value, like a fine wine, grows more precious with age. The love and sense of family carefully nourished by Shebe and Leah is no different today than it was 50 years ago.

It is a rare marriage that lasts 50 years, and it takes two exceptional people to make it work. The keys to the success of the marriage we are celebrating today are the personalities involved and their commitment to each other, to their family, and to their community. Through Leah and Shebe, you can always hear the heartbeat of Lakewood. Between Shebe's work with the Lakewood Sportsmen's Club and Leah's work registering voters and following the Red Sox, you always know where to turn for news. One thing that I appreciate especially has been their willingness to help me out at election time. I've never had two better friends.

To borrow a line from a recent popular song, "These are the good old days." While today's party is not yet a cherished memory like the pinocle vacations in Canada or family picnics with the Eddas and the Knoxes, it does serve to remind us that although we may not have as much time together as before, we can still celebrate the longevity of true friendship and happy marriage.

Shebe and Leah's commitment has been what has kept them and their relationship so young through 50 years. To celebrate this eternal springtime, I would like to propose a toast to our honored couple. This is a toast I usually reserve for newlyweds, but I can think of no better salute to Shebe and Leah.

May you in your continued life together remain like the blades of a fine pair of scissors—Inseparable; Ever sharp; Sometimes moving in opposite directions; And punishing severely anything that comes between you.

I salute the two of you on this Golden Anniversary milestone, and wish you many more years of happiness together.●

VALUES IN EDUCATION

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, Gary L. Bauer, Deputy Under Secretary of the Department of Education recently

made an outstanding address at the commencement ceremonies of Northern Kentucky University. In this he said in part:

Education at its core must be more than preparation for a job, however important that is to all of us. Today, I would like to talk with you about what an institution of higher learning should be, what the implications are for you as graduates of this institution, and what both say about the days that lie ahead of us as our Nation nears the end of this century.

Walter Lippman, in a profound speech written in 1940, called "Education vs. Western Civilization," feared what was happening in our modern educational institutions. Lippman, speaking of the universities of his day, said, "Modern education (however) is based on a denial that it is necessary or useful or desirable for the schools and colleges to continue to transmit from generation to generation the religious and classical culture of the Western World. It is, therefore, much easier to say what modern education reflects than to find out what modern education teaches."

"Modern education rejects and excludes," said Lippman, "from the curriculum of necessary studies the whole religious tradition of the West. It abandons and neglects as no longer necessary the study of the whole classical heritage of the great works of great men."

Lippman wrote at a time when hob-nail boots were on the march in Europe led by a mad dictator emboldened by the weakness he perceived in the western democracies. Lippman laid part of that weakness squarely on the backs of the universities of the time, and he was harsh in his indictment. He sadly noted that during the 20th century the generations trained in the great schools had "either abandoned their liberties or they have not known, until the last desperate moment, how to defend them. The schools were to make men free. They had been in operation for some sixty or seventy years and what was expected of them they have not done. The plain fact," said Lippman, "is that the graduates of the modern schools are the actors in the catastrophe which has befallen our civilization. Those who are responsible for modern education—for its controlling philosophy—are answerable for the results." Harsh words to be sure. Lippman, no doubt, had partly in mind the ridiculous exercise in intellectual self-deception that had taken place at Oxford University while Hitler was consolidating his power. There the children of the most privileged of English society debated and passed what Winston Churchill called their "ever shameful resolution" to never fight "for King and Country." The message that vote sent said Churchill "took deep root and swayed many calculations,"—no doubt including the calculations of the mad Fuhrer in Germany. None of those Oxford students knew that they were destined to abandon that pledge and, almost too late, rise to defend their freedom and culture.

Of course, the modern universities Lippman spoke of were those of the 1930's and 1940's. In the 50 years that have passed since those terrible days, there remains both cause for concern as well as cause for hope. Some wonder now is this generation more ready than our English counterparts at Oxford 51 years ago to defend our western institutions and our Nation intellectually and otherwise? Those who are concerned about the answer to that question point to our Nation's textbooks.

It has been charged that American social studies teaching for the past 50 years has been dominated by "cultural relativism," a doctrine which holds that there are no absolutes, that one cannot say that one culture or tradition is preferable to another . . . and that virtue consists only in being "open" to every life style. A society that believes and teaches happiness is mere pleasure based on instant gratification acknowledges no authority higher than you or I. Pluralism is not moral relativism, however, much some would have us believe it is. In fact, as Michael Novak recently observed, "More than half of all good education, especially of education in the use of liberty, is saying no. It is not true that 'anything goes', even in free societies within which virtually everything is possible. Realistic judgment, taste, accurate assessment, and character—all are formed by saying no to shoddy, deficient, criminal, and vicious possibilities." "There is an infinity of ways to get things wrong morally," Aristotle wrote, "only one way of making full moral choices: by assessing every element correctly and acting with courage accordingly."

If no meaningful distinctions can be made between values, then nothing crucial is at stake in the struggle between East and West. And if one system of government is as good or as bad as another, then the struggle between free societies and unfree societies, between democratic nations and totalitarian states—amounts to nothing—and many have died on foreign battlefields in vain. I believe the crosses on Flanders field mean more than that, and the most educated among us must explain to each new generation why that sacrifice was noble and justified and why because of it we all breathe the sweet air of liberty. If we fail in this basic task, then if it comes time again to sacrifice for liberty—few will find the courage to do so.

C. S. Lewis, in his excellent book "The Abolition of Man," wrote about the vanishing of norms, particularly of the heroic, from textbooks. Lewis said "reason in man must rule the mere appetites by means of the 'spirited element.'" "The head rules the belly through the chest" and it is in the chest, our heart and soul, that we find what makes us men. And then Lewis cited the tragedy of our time. "In a sort of ghastly simplicity we remove the organ and demand the function. We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honour and are shocked to find traitors in our midst."

In too many of our schools, the basic compelling differences between free and unfree societies are not being taught.

The issue of values, however, is much more basic than a discussion of the differences between competing forms of government. For some time now, in the name of pluralism or some vague cosmopolitanism, we have failed in many of our classrooms to teach the common moral and patriotic principles, including love of country, that serve as the foundation for good citizenship. And even now as we begin to reach for academic excellence, some would deny that a central focus of excellence must be to remind our children of the basic values upon which our society was built.

Marine Corps Commandant Paul X. Kelley visited Nashton and when he neared this young Marine, Nashton, moaning with pain, gathered his strength and asked for a piece of paper so that he could write a message. Now, if America is just about gross national product and two-car garages; if it's about "Dallas" and "How the World Turns;" if America is neon lights and break dancing

or designer jeans—well, if that is all we are made of, then I can imagine a few words that young Marine might have put on that paper—words of bitterness. But, when he finished, only two words, written with trembling hand, appeared on that sheet. They were "Semper Paratus"—Marine Corps Latin meaning "forever faithful."

Lance Corporal Nashton knows his suffering was his contribution, his way of being forever faithful. And that is what we all are called on to do in this the beginning of our third century as a Nation. To our universities, this charge must go forward—to nurture in the young whom we so hopefully turn over to you, the values, character, courage, love of country and faithfulness to its traditions that serves as the foundation upon which this university and all others are built. In short, to help us know what deserves to be loved and deserves to be defended. If nothing else, you must teach our young that in the long tale of inhumanity and misery of deception and betrayal that is so much the history of fallen man, that America, blemishes and all, stands high among nations. And when our children learn this, they should not be made to feel fools for believing it is so.

Those of you who today are commencing your journey through this great land also are called to faithfulness.

I am convinced that if you will be faithful, history will record that America came of age, affirmed its leadership of free men and women serving selflessly one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.●

CORPORATE TAKEOVERS—THE ISSUE IS FAIRNESS

HON. JOHN BRYANT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BRYANT. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and discussed with regard to the abusive tactics used by both target management and takeover bidders during recent corporate acquisition efforts. The Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection and Finance, on which I am privileged to serve, has held extensive hearings on this very issue. I have come to the conclusion that shareholder interests during these takeover procedures have been grossly overlooked.

During the heat of a takeover battle, as use of offensive and defense tactics escalates, employee and community concerns, as well as shareholder interests, take a back seat. Defensive tactics can include the selling of crown jewels—the most valuable assets of a company—to dilute the value of its stock. Offensive tactics such as two-tier tender offers, which pay premium prices for the first block of acquired stock and lesser cash amounts of paper trades for latecomers, are equally injurious to shareholders.

Several weeks ago I was pleased to join Subcommittee Chairman Wirth as a cosponsor when he introduced four bills which would put the brakes on

both the bidders and the takeover targets by eliminating potential abuses on both sides of the merger equation. Several proposals are very controversial in that they get to the heart of the abusive behavior on both sides.

By increasing the time allowed for a tender offer, target corporations and their shareholders have more time to examine the merits of the offer and to reply responsibly. An alteration of the business judgment rule would make target management more responsible for making sound corporate decisions and not ones based merely on self interest.

While most press accounts have focused on the various takeover battles and have reported in minute detail the chronology of events, I have not seen any significant comment suggesting the need for congressional action. An editorial in the latest issue of *Business Week* states: "Congress must act to guarantee that innocent stockholders do not suffer the consequences of hostile takeovers while others reap the rewards."

I include this editorial for the RECORD and your consideration:

PUTTING FAIRNESS BACK INTO TAKEOVERS

"In nature there are neither rewards nor punishments," wrote the 19th-century agnostic Robert G. Ingersoll. "There are only consequences." This chilling bit of pragmatism fit the Darwinian mindset of business in the late 1800s and may still apply to the wave of hostile takeovers now rocking the corporate world. Fortunately, however, the Securities & Exchange Commission and some congressmen today would include in "consequences" the damage done to stockholders when a company suffers a raid or even a raid that is withdrawn after someone has made a bundle by selling back the tendered stock. And if Representative Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.) gets his way, Congress may soon set new rules to make the takeover process fairer and more orderly than it has become.

In legislation developed by Wirth and the SEC, takeover bidders would be required to give more advance notice, give all stockholders an equal shot at tender offers, and abandon "greenmail" scare tactics of the type that earned Rupert Murdoch a 35% premium for selling back his Warner Communications shares and garnered similar profits for the Bass brothers on their Texaco stock. On the defensive side, the bill would bar fat severance contracts known as golden parachutes, which are awarded to some executives after a tender offer has begun. Lower levels of management and ordinary stockholders get no such insurance.

Some of these proposals are highly controversial and may need further refinement. But the SEC has a clear duty to protect the rights of stockholders while ensuring that none of them receives preferential treatment. Congress must act to guarantee that innocent stockholders do not suffer the consequences of hostile takeovers while others reap the rewards.●

JERRY L. LITTON VISITOR CENTER OPENS

HON. E. THOMAS COLEMAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. COLEMAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to inform my colleagues in the House of Representatives of the opening this coming Sunday of the Jerry L. Litton Visitor Center at Smithville Lake in Smithville, MO.

The center is named in honor of our former colleague, Jerry Litton, who represented the Sixth Congressional District of Missouri.

Many of my colleagues in the House of Representatives will remember serving with Mr. Litton, a rancher from northwest Missouri, from 1972 through 1976. In 1976 Jerry Litton ran for a seat in the U.S. Senate. On election night, his promising political career came to a tragic end when he, along with his wife, Sharon, and children, Scott and Linda, were killed in a plane accident while departing for his victory party in Kansas City.

The visitor center at Smithville Lake commemorates Jerry Litton's life from his childhood on the farm and as a leader in the Future Farmers of America, through his career as a Congressman from Missouri.

On behalf of Mr. Litton's mother, Mildred, and all Missourians, I would like to urge you to visit this tribute to former Congressman Jerry Litton.●

CANADIAN DEFENSE NATO STUDY

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday's Washington Post reported the findings of a recently completed study by the Canadian Department of National Defense which suggests that many of the warnings we have heard from this administration about the danger posed to NATO forces by the Warsaw Pact may be seriously overstated.

The study found that Warsaw Pact forces might not remain reliable if a Soviet attack on Western Europe failed or stalled and that the entry of NATO troops into Eastern Europe would trigger a collapse of the Communist regimes there.

These provocative findings appear to forcefully contradict this administration's argument that NATO forces would be hopelessly overmatched in any conflict with Warsaw Pact troops.

I commend the consideration of this article to my colleagues and ask that it be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, June 5, 1984]

**WARSAW PACT TROOPS OVERRATED BY NATO,
CANADIAN STUDY SAYS**
(By Walter Pincus)

Warsaw Pact troops would not be as great a threat in combat as NATO officials tend to say they would, according to a study done for the Canadian Department of National Defense.

Years of indoctrination and direction by Moscow-trained officers have failed to turn eastern European armies into a loyal, cohesive fighting force, the study found.

The study, now circulating among top officials in NATO, says that pact forces might not remain reliable if a Soviet attack on western Europe failed or stalled and that "the entry of NATO troops into eastern Europe would trigger a collapse of the communist regimes there."

At a recent Washington conference to discuss the report, sponsored in part by the U.S. Departments of State and Defense, one expert went unchallenged when he said that the threat to the West from the Warsaw Pact "has to some extent been exaggerated," while another said that strong anti-Soviet feelings "cripple bloc armies as an instrument against someone else."

Recent Reagan administration statements suggesting there is an increased threat from the Warsaw Pact relate primarily to the modernized Soviet equipment in the hands of the troops, not to those troops' abilities or attitudes toward fighting, say Pentagon officials aware of the Canadian study.

The study, according to government and private experts, outlines for the first time in an unclassified document the unusual steps taken by the Soviet Union to maintain control over Warsaw Pact armed forces.

The Soviets, for example, have fragmented their allies' national armies. Elite and specialized units are separated and attached to larger pact armies that are directed by Soviet officers and made up of significant numbers of Soviet troops.

Other components of pact armies have special ties to Soviet units, either stationed in their country or back in the Soviet Union, or both. Such so-called brother regiments "participate in joint training programs, joint exercises and joint political activities," according to the study.

Pact countries are prevented in most cases even from producing more than a few types of arms or ammunition to prevent them from equipping their own military forces.

The East Germans are singled out for special controls, the study says, because they are considered "the best trained but least trusted." The East German army is limited to about 167,000 men while the Soviets maintain their own force of roughly 400,000 in that country.

Mistrust of conscripts is so great that the force structure is roughly one Soviet-trained commissioned or non-commissioned officer to every two enlisted men, according to the study.

The tight pact controls developed in the late 1960s, according to the study, after Moscow lost control over Romania, Albania and Yugoslavia. These pact members "have demonstrated that independent national military forces under the control of an eastern European communist regime constitute forces unavailable to the Soviets for offensive use," according to the study.

The Romanian army, according to the study, operates totally outside the Warsaw Pact, "is not available for offensive action" and has organized "a 'territorial defense system' designed to deter and, if need be, to resist a Soviet military occupation."

Another measure of Moscow's dominance is its control over the high-ranking officers in the eastern European armies. Since Russian is the command language for all pact forces, all pact officers must speak that language. Eastern Europeans who want to rise to field rank must be accepted and trained at Soviet military academies.

A Soviet officer commands the Warsaw Pact organization and in that role has authority over all the bloc armies. In addition, Soviet internal security forces also maintain direct relations and thus control over internal police in eastern European countries, a link that also reaches the Soviet Communist Party organization in Moscow and the individual bloc party organizations.●

**TRIBUTE TO LUDLOW, KY, FIRE
DEPARTMENT**

HON. GENE SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, this spring marks another victory of the volunteer spirit that has made the United States so unique because this year is the 100th anniversary of the Ludlow, KY, Volunteer Fire Department.

This all-volunteer, community protection organization in the past century has gone from hand drawn to diesel firefighting equipment, but the spirit that motivates it is still the same as it was 100 years ago, unchanged by time. This spirit, the community spirit that brings individuals together to work in the best interests of the community as a whole, is obviously still alive in Ludlow, KY.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend the 28 members of the Ludlow, KY, Fire Department for doing their part in seeing that the great American legacy of voluntarism and community service is continued.●

**LYONS, NE, CELEBRATES
CENTENNIAL**

HON. HAL DAUB

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DAUB. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the centennial anniversary of the incorporation of Lyons, NE, and I am proud to join with the residents of Lyons in celebrating this significant event.

The first settlers—and subsequently the first stores, schools, banks, mail service, and industry—arrived at the current site of the town soon after the

Civil War. By 1884, the year of incorporation, Lyons was a thriving town.

One hundred years later, Lyons continues to be a thriving community—proud of its heritage and confident of its future. The residents of Lyons are committed to the values that have made our Nation great; it is a place where neighbors know and trust each other and work together for the good life that we Nebraskans are so proud of.

It is a distinct privilege to take this opportunity to share the story of Lyons incorporation with my colleagues:

THE INCORPORATION

"Lyon Settlement" first became a reality with the coming of Waldo Lyon to this area in 1868, to build a farm home on the land he had acquired in Everett Township, which later became the site of the town named for him.

Having owned grist and sawmills in Hustisford, Wisconsin, and a sawmill in Tekamah before coming here, Mr. Lyon began building a roller mill in 1869, on the meandering Logan Creek at the foot of our present Main Street. Soon, a few other businesses started up.

At that time town governments such as Village Boards and other officers were not deemed necessary, and the county government, based at Tekamah, took charge of all business for the community. All villages or towns in the county were represented on the County Supervisors Board, as well as in many of the county offices. It wasn't long until Lyons had several men filling these offices. One year, in the "County Exchanges" of the newspapers, one county town accused Lyons of "trying to run the county" when they had someone in five county offices, besides the supervisor.

Franklin Everett had become a county supervisor in 1881, and had a part in the Incorporation proceedings. He continued to represent Everett Township on the Burt County Board until 1901, when as chairman of the board he had to retire because of poor health.

With the increase in population and the building of the Omaha and Northern Nebraska Railroad from Omaha to Sioux City, between 1878 and 1881, the community leaders decided it was time to incorporate and have a governing body and a set of laws governing the affairs of their own town. A petition was circulated in the spring of 1884, and 200 names were on the petition presented to the Burt County Commissioners asking that Lyons be incorporated as a village.

The petition was granted and on April 28, 1884, Lyons became an incorporated town. The following citizens were appointed to the Village Board of Trustees: W. G. Waite, R. S. Hart, M. E. Ford, L. Kryger and J. E. Farrington.

That was a special day for Lyons! Although it had grown from a "settlement" when the first settlers came in the 1860's, to an incorporated Village in those few years of growing from infancy through childhood, it was now ready to spread its wings, and began its first century of living and growing into one of the outstanding small towns in Nebraska.

I, A. Dale French, County Clerk of the above named county, do hereby certify that the following appears of record in Book 2 of

Commissioners Record, Page 368 of the minutes dated April 28, 1884:

"The Board now coming to final action on the Petition to Incorporate the Village of Lyons finds that due notice of the same has been given, that the petition contains at least a majority of the taxable inhabitants of said Village, and that said Village contains two hundred or more inhabitants all as by law required. It is now ordered that said Village be and the same is hereby incorporated and known as the Village of 'Lyons' and described as follows to-wit: Commencing at the Center of Sec. 25 Town 23 N Range 8E—running thence east 775 feet thence North 177 feet, thence West 2360 feet thence South 910 feet, thence East 406 feet, thence South 1179 feet, thence East 1179 feet, thence North 1865 feet to the place of beginning. And it is further ordered that W. G. Waite, R. S. Hart, M. E. Ford, L. Kryger and J. E. Farrington be and they are hereby appointed and constituted a Board of trustees for said Village."

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at Tekamah, Nebraska, this 19th day of November, 1968.●

A FAIRWELL TO ALEX FREMLING, AN ABLE PUBLIC SERVANT

HON. SID MORRISON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MORRISON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I would like to let my colleagues know about the significance of June 22, 1984, to one of my constituents, and to observe that this country will no longer have the benefit of the talents of one of its most able public servants.

On June 22 my good friend, Alex Fremling, is retiring as manager of the Department of Energy's Richland Operations Office, which oversees the Hanford project where many of this country's energy research and development programs and a critical part of our national defense effort are conducted. From 1973-84, Alex Fremling has been the Federal Government manager responsible for the diverse activities at the Hanford Site. This enterprise involves more than 10,000 employees and nearly \$1 billion in annual program activities for the Department of Energy.

I think everyone would agree that during these past 11 years we have witnessed several changes in the energy and defense programs of the United States. Let me recount just a few. The Arab oil embargo and the Iranian revolution have changed the way we do business. Energy—in various forms—was once considered so cheap that we did not have to worry about how much we wasted. Now, energy is one of the primary costs in operating a business or a home.

The economic implications of the oil supply interruptions are still being felt in all areas of the United States, but

perhaps no more vividly than in the Pacific Northwest where energy demand growth has fallen from more than 7 percent per year to less than 2 percent per year. The Department of Energy itself, as well as its short-lived predecessor, the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), are in themselves reactions to energy crises of the least 11 years. There is little question that the past 11 years have been historic for this country's energy policies.

For Hanford, this same time period witnessed immense changes on a smaller scale. The centerpiece of this country's nuclear breeder technology program, the FFTF, was built during this period and it and its support facilities are now operating beyond everyone's expectations.

Many of the concepts for making America less petroleum-dependent through the development of innovative conservation practices and renewable energy research and development programs are being accomplished at the multiprogram laboratory at Hanford.

Hanford has been a pioneer in long-term disposal of high-level commercial nuclear waste. A defense waste management program, once characterized by leaking tanks, is now stabilized and well on its way to a permanent solution.

Defense production facilities, a few short years ago ready for permanent shutdown, have been reactivated and are contributing significantly to the restoration of America's defense posture. Equally important, Hanford is considered by all of its counterparts in the DOE system to have the best managed safety, security, and safeguards programs.

Implementing the policy and organizational changes of the past 11 years required a person with unique talents. Alex Fremling has those unique talents and has been the captain of the Hanford ship during this voyage. Many adjectives can be cited to describe his performance, and many words have already been written publicly since his announced retirement, but let me just make one encompassing statement:

Alex Fremling is one of the finest public servants I have had the privilege of knowing. The Department of Energy, the Tri-Cities area, and Hanford have benefited by having had his talents from September 2, 1973, to June 22, 1984. I ask my colleagues to join me in saying thanks for a job well done and to wish him the best of luck in his next career at the Electric Power Research Institute.●

A TRIBUTE TO HAROLD WILLENS

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, today's edition of the Washington Post contains an article about a remarkable man—Harold Willens. Mr. Willens, perhaps more than anyone else, deserves the title of "Father of the Nuclear Freeze."

He has devoted the last 20 years of his life to alerting the American people to the dangers of the nuclear arms race. In addition, he has played a key role in winning passage of resolutions in support of the freeze here in Congress, in State legislatures and in town meetings across the country.

All of us who support efforts to control the arms race owe him a great debt. I hope my colleagues will join me in saluting his contributions to making the world a safer place not only for us, but also for our children:

LESS BANG FOR THE BUCKS

A MILLIONAIRE'S FIGHT FOR THE NUCLEAR FREEZE

(By Jay Mathews)

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.—It was a cold, blustery day in Chicago two decades ago when Harold Willens learned a lesson about saving the world.

A fabulously wealthy businessman in that city, having heard Willens' pitch, agreed to give \$15,000 for a conference on world peace. Willens, a millionaire himself thought this a paltry sum and later complained to his friend Robert Hutchins, the scholarly founder of the Center for the study of Democratic Institutions.

"That was like 2 cents to him," said Willens, still smarting from the incident.

Hutchins smiled. "You have to learn," he said, "that people have to learn to give."

Here in the flower-scented dining room of the Beverly Hills Tennis Club, with fuzzy yellow balls plonking softly outside, with men in white shorts eating breakfast and reliving old times, the rules of largesse seem largely irrelevant. But not to Willens. For 20 years he has devoted his time and much of his fortune to ensuring his children a future. He has financed presidential candidates. He has led the fight for a nuclear freeze. And after setbacks and disappointments, he has reached the point where he sees the ultimate solution to the world's ills in the fine art of fund-raising—the ability to teach people, particularly the wealthy and powerful, how to give.

"I know people, some of them are members of this club, who are multi-millionaires up in the, you know, in the double-digit millions, and they don't know how to give," he says. "Something psychic—I sometimes call it fiscal constipation—but something psychic blocks them from giving."

In American politics, it is often the people who give who acquire the unsavory reputations. They are the fat cats, thought to be buying votes rather than buttressing the constitutional system. But to Harold Willens they are a very different breed—the vanguard of a mass movement that could

pull the world back from the brink of nuclear holocaust.

At age 69, Willens has written his first book, "The Trimtab Factor," to rally those men and women like himself who have made a lot of money and now realize they want "something more." (The late futurist R. Buckminster Fuller suggested the title, which refers to the small tab used to manipulate the main rudder of a large ship. Fuller told Willens he wanted "trimtab" inscribed on his tombstone, to indicate a small life spent trying to change the world's direction.) Willens decided to write the book after he received, somewhat to his astonishment, an outpouring of support from supposedly conservative businessmen for a nuclear freeze initiative he championed two years ago. Here was an audience, he decided, that had been too long ignored by the peace movement.

The book begins and ends with a fable of a company whose executives toy with the idea of destroying a rival firm with an avalanche—until the stockholders realize the rocks could destroy them, too. Reviewers have called the book simplistic, but it carries a message that Willens has already found successful in spurring sophisticated men and women all over the country into action:

"We are shareholders in the American enterprise, and our Edsel is a national security policy that relies too heavily on nuclear weapons and military competition with the Soviet Union," Willens writes. "As we have seen, it is a policy that, if continued, will almost certainly take us to a final bankruptcy from which we can never recover."

At 5 feet 8 and 150 pounds, the tanned, somewhat diffident Willens rarely stands out in a crowd—until he opens his mouth. Then he is a bundle of enthusiasm and optimism, engaging, friendly, willing to listen to any theory but always deftly returning the conversation to his cause. He dates his conversion to the fight against the arms race from a two-day seminar at Hutchins' center, just outside Santa Barbara, in 1961. Aldous Huxley and other speakers "lit in me a fire I thought was not there," he says. Willens felt lucky to have become so wealthy. "I did well, and so I wanted to do good."

He started as a fundraiser for then-senator Eugene McCarthy in the heady days of 1968's anti-Vietnam war campaign, first testing his wings at a dinner party for 10 in New York. "I asked for \$50,000 each . . . and every one of them gave," he says. He knew from the beginning never to ask anyone for money "unless I put my money there first. And I never ask unless I feel passionate about the issue. And they sense that. And because of that I never talk about donations or contributions. I always say, 'If you accept what I'm saying, if you feel the same way, join me in investing money in something that deeply affects your life, the lives of the people we care about.'"

At that dinner, Willens told the guests that "it looks as though we can exterminate ourselves, so what good is it to be pulverized with 100 percent of your net worth? To me, it is very sensible to give 5 percent or 10 percent if you feel that here is a candidate who can make a difference." Afterward one of the guests, a titan of the New York cosmetics industry, took him aside. "Look, we've never met, but I've heard a lot about you," said the man, looking like a father about to caution an errant child. "Don't ever mention net worth."

Willens took to calling it the "never-give-principal" principle, yet even today, if the

time seems right, he will occasionally broach the forbidden topic. "What the hell's the good of getting evaporated or incinerated or cremated with 100 percent of your net worth?" he asks.

The deeper Willens probed the old debate over how to change the world—support a man or support a cause?—the more he learned about the U.S. tax system, which molded that debate and created what political cognoscenti call "soft" and "hard" money. Contributions to a candidate, such as former senator George McGovern, whom he supported in 1972, were not tax deductible—they were "hard" money the giver would never see again. Contributions to the nonprofit organizations in which Willens became more and more active, such as the Center for Defense Information or Business Executives for National Security, were all tax deductible, "soft" money.

Willens laughs loudly when asked whether soft money is easier to raise. "Oh, there's no question about it," he says. "Soft money makes it a soft touch. Sometimes in the years that I would actively raise money for a presidential candidate, the phrase I would always use was, 'Look, this is hard money, but it's a hard task to want to reverse this nuclear arms race . . . so it's worth hard money.'"

Recurrent charges that he is too single-minded roll off Willens' back. He has what all business entrepreneurs and political fundraisers need—a belief that all things are possible, just as they turned out to be for Harold Willens.

He was born the son of a tailor and garment worker in the Ukraine. He recounts in his book a nightmarish memory of drunken soldiers threatening to kill his family unless they handed over their money, and he can still smell the smoke from other Jewish homes torched by marauders. If anyone had cause to hate the Russians, he says, "I am that person."

His family escaped Russia in 1922. They settled briefly in the Bronx, and then in Boyle Heights, a blue-collar neighborhood of Los Angeles, where Willens worked in a grocery store. Fresh out of high school, he started a food specialty business. At age 24, while his wife, Grace, ran the rapidly growing enterprise, he enrolled as an English literature major at UCLA, indulging a love of history and philosophy that would fuel his later excursions into public affairs.

Today he owns blocks of Wilshire Boulevard and other prime pieces of Southern California real estate, as well as a huge house in fashionable Brentwood Park, a low-slung residence on the beach in Malibu Colony, and a four-bedroom condominium in Rancho Mirage, near Palm Springs. His tan testifies to many hours on the tennis courts, including a recent doubles match against his desert neighbor Spiro T. Agnew. ("We won," Willens says.) But he spends much of his life on the road, deep into the political process and getting deeper. While his longtime secretary, Katherine Dobbs, runs his office in downtown Los Angeles, Willens roams the country making new friends, giving speeches, raising money, selling his message and, most recently, his book. His schedule during one recent week took him to San Francisco, Palo Alto, Salt Lake City, Denver, Milwaukee, Washington and New York, a pace he had been maintaining for two months.

Over the course of years spent in airports, Willens has learned what a large country the United States is. He has also learned how its richest harvests come not from the

fertile Midwest but from two huge patches of concrete on either end of the continent—New York and Los Angeles. "Even Chicago doesn't have the same critical mass of giving capability that exists in California and New York," he says.

Los Angeles, of course, is a place where actors, producers and musicians can make a lot of money while they're very young—and more susceptible to Willens' insistence that the world can and should be changed for the better. New York and Los Angeles residents seem to him to have a "broader perspective." People there read *The New Yorker* and worry about the state of the world.

He also finds it significant that "more Jewish people live in those two major cities." Willens, who is himself Jewish, has pondered the roots of Jewish generosity toward causes like his. "That probably comes from the tradition," he says, "the centuries of subjugation and ostracism and therefore being concerned with justice, equality, a higher human concern, higher than just another Bentley or Rolls-Royce or mink."

For a while he put his faith in such people and in a select few politicians—until he encountered Jimmy Carter, "the only one who conned me, one of the great actors of our time . . . a better actor than Reagan."

"I really spent a lot of time with him, very early on," Willens says. "He and I sat and talked about this issue so I wrote articles, went around the country, raised money and that was the first time that I had an open door to the White House."

"Then came what I call his 'betrayal.' The years of activity made it quite natural for me to be part of the . . . United Nations special session on disarmament [in 1978], and the appointment came technically from him. I went to the White House sure of the fact that of course he would address this session . . . it was 149 countries, and the issue was the nuclear arms race. And then I learned to my dismay that the political pygmies around him were leaning on him not to do it. You know, 'Don't go there cause you'll look like a sissy or a softy or something.'"

News accounts at the time suggested that Carter advisers felt public statements by the president might affect the delicate arms control negotiations under way with the Soviets. They wished to avoid the temptation in such a forum to promise too much. The people around Carter "understood the presidential nomination process very well," Willens says, "but they didn't know beans about issue politics. And issue politics had been my whole life. I told them, 'You're never going to win the hard-liners in the Senate, and it's far better mobilizing public opinion by a fantastic, phenomenal speech at that forum.'"

"When he didn't come, I couldn't believe it," he says. Willens tried to persuade Carter to make a closing speech at the session: "If you refuse to do the invocation, for God's sake do the benediction." He begged then-vice president Walter Mondale to intercede. "Fritz said that he did his best," Willens says, but Carter stayed away from New York.

Asked who he is supporting this year, Willens answers, "My candidate for president is the nuclear freeze." This has meant even more travel than usual, staying in touch with a network of like-minded business executives and turning his book promotion into a freeze blitz, with copies sent to all

members of Congress and all chief executives of the Fortune 500.

"My wife and I were talking about all this last week at the desert, and she has mixed feelings about it," Willens says. "On the one hand, she knows that what drives me is not altruism or anything high-minded. That's a lot of crap. What drives me, and her to help me, is, you know, very specific reasons, and their names are Larry, Ron and Michele, our three children, our five grandchildren and so on. So here I go again, but I never think of the time, money or energy—and it costs a fortune—as being donated. It's invested."

In 1982, in the heat of the campaign to win votes for a nuclear freeze initiative on the California ballot, Willens invested some of that money in a controversial, full-page Sunday New York Times advertisement. It was one more confirmation of the lesson that he had learned 20 years earlier. Freeze advocates on the East Coast objected to his trying to siphon money from "their" turf. The ad, Willens said, "hit a tremendous jackpot of money, but more importantly, Monday morning I got calls from media people—you can't imagine how many people called, including some top people from Time magazine. Within two weeks they ran their first cover story on the issue. So there was my old age and experience telling me this was the right thing to do, and here were some very nice people—I respect them, we all do things certain ways—but their perspective is so provincial."

There is, Willens says, "a widely held myth that, gee, whoever the potential contributor is, she or he has a certain number of dollars bunched up in his or her pocket, and if someone else takes the dollars away, I won't get it. That myth is Alice in Wonderland. It's upside down. Twenty-two years of active fund-raising . . . has taught me that it doesn't work that way. It works just the opposite, that if an ad like that catches the attention of people and they make contributions, they're not giving their last dollar."

"The fact is, it opens them up. It's a catalytic agent on the generosity, and then they tend to give more and more and more." ●

DR. WILLIAM L. FISHER—PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PETROLEUM GEOLOGISTS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. William L. Fisher, director of the Bureau of Economic Geology at the University of Texas, was chosen to be president-elect of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists.

Dr. Fisher will begin serving as the 1984-85 president-elect on July 1. Next year he will assume the 1985-86 presidency of AAPG, the world's largest professional geoscience association with members in 93 countries.

In addition to his duties as director of the bureau, Dr. Fisher is the Morgan J. Davis Centennial Professor in Petroleum Geology at UT Austin, where he has taught since 1969. He will become chairman of the UT De-

partment of Geological Sciences in September.

Dr. Fisher joined the Bureau of Economic Geology in 1960 and served as research scientist and associate director before becoming director in 1970.

He served as assistant secretary for energy for the U.S. Interior Department during the Ford administration from 1975 to early 1977, when he returned to the director's post at the UT bureau. I can vouch that he did an outstanding job as Assistant Secretary.

Dr. Fisher has served on numerous boards and councils, including the White House Energy Resource Council. He has been president of the Austin Geological Society and has been a member of committees for the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, the Texas 2000 Commission, the Texas Energy and Natural Resources Advisory Council, and the Texas Railroad Commission. He also is vice chairman of the Texas Low-Level Radioactive Waste Authority.

Dr. Fisher said a significant task of the AAPG presidency is maintenance of the various divisions within the organization, which has grown in recent years. The AAPG now includes a division concerned with nonpetroleum energy sources, such as coal and geothermal energy.

The organization also includes a division of public affairs and ethics. In addition, the association issues papers on energy issues and offers consultation on policy matters to the executive branch and to Congress. ●

MEMORIAL DAY 1984

HON. CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Speaker, since the end of the Civil War, Memorial Day has been the time when we pay tribute to the men and women who gave up their lives on the field of battle. This year, the last Monday in May took on special significance for Vietnam era veterans when the remains of a Vietnam serviceman were interred in the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery. It is my privilege today to honor a group of Rhode Island veterans who traveled to Washington this week to participate in this week's solemn tributes to those who served our country in times of war.

Although it has been over a decade since American troops left Vietnam, the wounds of our experience there have not yet healed. While some may say that Monday's funeral ceremony marked the close of an era, I believe that it signified not an end, but a beginning. Vietnam-era veterans have suffered because they received no

homecoming celebrations, no parades, and no ceremonies of gratitude. All too frequently, we have wrongly heaped the blame for our collective misunderstandings about the Vietnam experience upon the men and women who served in the Armed Forces. Clearly, they deserve better than that; their acts of heroism and sacrifice must be recognized. We must move toward a period of reconciliation and reintegration of Vietnam-era veterans. The time is long overdue to put an end to the bitterness and anger.

Among the most pressing matters yet to be resolved is a full accounting of the nearly 2,500 American servicemen still missing in Southeast Asia. It is this paramount concern which brought Rhode Island veterans to Washington this week. They join dedicated men and women from across the Nation who have maintained a 24-hour-a-day color guard at the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial since Christmas 1982. The Veterans' Vigil Society, which has coordinated this effort, intends to maintain this vigil until all those still listed as prisoners of war or missing in action are accounted for. I deeply admire these individuals who have come out of love and respect for those who died and out of compassion for the families of the fallen and missing.

It is incumbent upon us to obtain the fullest possible accounting of the Americans missing in Southeast Asia. For the families of the 2,490 POW's and MIA's, 10 of them Rhode Islanders, we must make this matter a national priority. I urge my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring House Joint Resolution 489, directing the President to work for the immediate release of each living American who may still be held captive in Indochina, and the expeditious return of the remains of all American servicemen who have died in Southeast Asia. For those who have died in our country's service, we can do nothing less. ●

UNITED BLACK FUND 12TH ANNUAL VICTORY LUNCHEON

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress the 12th annual victory luncheon of the United Black Fund, Inc., of Greater Washington to be held on June 27, 1984, at the Sheraton Washington Hotel.

This year's workshop and luncheon theme focusing on the prevention and detection of substance abuse is a timely one. Again, the United Black Fund takes a leading role in providing resources to programs that seek to im-

prove the condition of residents in the metropolitan Washington area.

Under the capable leadership of Dr. Calvin W. Rolark, founder and president of the United Black Fund, this organization has for 15 years contributed to numerous educational, social, health, and community programs and activities throughout the metropolitan area.

Today, the United Black Fund supports 55 participating member agencies and grants emergency funds to many qualified nonprofit organizations. In addition to financial support, the UBF provides technical and managerial assistance to member agencies and employment referrals to the general public.

The United Black Fund has established itself as a viable social service agency directing resources to where they are most needed. Thousands of people have been helped and our community has been made richer by its contribution.

I extend an invitation to my colleagues in the U.S. Congress to join the United Black Fund at its victory luncheon.●

JOINT RESOLUTION ON THE EXCHANGE RATE

HON. BERKLEY BEDELL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BEDELL. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced House Joint Resolution 585, directing the President and the Federal Reserve Board to take certain actions to lower and to stabilize the international exchange value of the dollar. This binding joint resolution represents an important first step in addressing a major new economic problem facing our Nation. Both the National Association of Manufacturers and the AFL-CIO have joined with a number of cosponsors supporting this nonpartisan initiative.

Today, foreign producers enjoy an enormous competitive advantage over goods produced in the United States—from livestock and grain, to autos, steel, silicon chips, and many services—simply as a result of our overvalued dollar. Protectionist pressures are understandably rising in the United States. Our workers and firms can no longer be expected to bear this grossly unfair burden.

The dollar has appreciated by almost 60 percent since 1980 against the Federal Reserve's trade-weighted index of major foreign currencies. While the traditional basis for determining equilibrium exchange rates—purchasing power parity—has been severely undermined in recent years, and few economists are confident they know where exchange rates should be,

almost everyone recognizes the dollar is significantly overvalued. The administration speaks with several, often confusing voices on this subject, but they, too, have agreed that the strength of the dollar is a major problem which requires policy response.

Even a 30-percent overvaluation of the dollar effectively imposes a 30-percent tax on goods produced in my Iowa district—and in yours—and provides a 30-percent subsidy to competing foreign imports. I do not need to tell you the damage this is doing to our economy. Economists estimate that 70 percent of all production in the United States directly competes with foreign producers. According to Data Resources, Inc., the economic consulting firm, more than 1 million jobs were lost all across the United States by early 1983—strictly due to the overvalued dollar.

And this very bad situation is getting worse.

Last year's \$60 billion trade deficit—BEA data—was the worst performance in U.S. history. According to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, however, that record deficit is expected to almost double this year to \$110 billion. Estimates for the 1985 deficit are in the range of \$150 billion.

The President's economic advisers also estimate that U.S. borrowing to offset these enormous trade deficits will cause the United States to become a debtor nation next year for the first time since 1917. Barring dramatic changes in international trade and capital flows, the U.S. external debt, in absolute terms, is projected to rival that of Brazil and Mexico within 2 years. What this means is that in an astonishingly short time we are wiping-out the customarily substantial U.S. net foreign earnings on investments which we built up over most of this century, and accumulating large financial obligations for the future.

House Joint Resolution 585 will establish that the exchange rate is now an important factor to consider in the management of U.S. economic policy, alongside our concerns for interest rates, unemployment and inflation.

The Bedell resolution, which will have the force of law, draws on the findings and the agreements of last year's Williamsburg economic summit. The President made a firm commitment at Williamsburg to pursue greater coordination with our allies of monetary and fiscal policy, as well as potential exchange market intervention, with the explicit goal of achieving and maintaining reasonable and stable exchange rates.

House Joint Resolution 585 has three parts:

First, Congress pledges to continue its efforts to correct the current fiscal policy imbalance and reduce the budget deficit;

Second, Congress directs the President and the Federal Reserve Board to strengthen U.S. cooperation with the central banks and other appropriate institutions of our major allies to reduce the misalignment of the dollar while insuring noninflationary growth of their combined money supplies, and;

Third, believing that the favorable impact of these actions could be enhanced by potential coordinated intervention in the exchange markets, directs the President to resolve current policy ambiguity by formally withdrawing the May 4, 1981, policy of nonintervention in exchange markets—except after a crisis of disorder arises—and by reaffirming the principles of responsible exchange-market stewardship agreed to at the Williamsburg economic summit.

The passage of this joint resolution will be an important step along the road toward responsible management of U.S. economic policy in today's complex international environment. Certainly there is room for disagreement over trade-offs in economic policy objectives, but the United States must face-up to its exchange market responsibilities. I hope that you will join with me in support of this initiative, so important to the future of our economy.

The text of the joint resolution follows:

H.J. RES. 585

Whereas a competitive United States economy and full employment are possible only if the exchange rate for the dollar is realistic and reasonably stable relative to the currencies of other major trading countries;

Whereas differentially regulated national economies and macroeconomic policies have caused the dollar to appreciate by more than 50 percent since 1980, raising deep concern for either a continuation of current rates or a precipitous dollar decline;

Whereas more than one million jobs have been lost as a result of the misaligned dollar and many firms are now being forced to consider moving production overseas in order to reduce dollar costs;

Whereas American small business, the source of most of our new jobs and productive innovation for the future, is suffering even more severely from the misaligned dollar than are larger firms with multinational options;

Whereas protectionist pressures in the United States are severe and growing;

Whereas it is projected in the Economic Report of the President that our record \$60,000,000,000 merchandise trade deficit in 1983 could almost double to \$110,000,000,000 this year;

Whereas even our best firms in high technology industries and services, as well as in agriculture and basic manufacturing, are losing markets to foreign competitors, and once lost these markets will not be easily regained;

Where the net creditor position which the United States has built up with the rest of the world over most of this century is being very rapidly lost, and the United States could become a net debtor nation within the next 12 months, eliminating our customari-

ly substantial net foreign earnings on investments and obligating us for the future;

Whereas a sudden and severe drop in the dollar world reignite inflation and push up interest rates which would result in the choking off of our recovery and the possibility of a breakdown in the international financial and trading system;

Whereas important determinants of the dollar misalignment are acknowledged to be United States macroeconomic policies and the Federal budget deficit;

Whereas the United States should not deny itself any instrument of policy which could reassure the foreign exchange markets and assist in the orderly adjustment to more reasonable and stable exchange rates; and

Whereas the President made a firm commitment to our allies at the Williamsburg Economic Summit to pursue greater coordination with them of all economic policies (including monetary and fiscal policy and exchange market intervention) with the explicit goal of achieving and maintaining reasonable and stable exchange rates; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress—

(1) pledges to continue its efforts to reduce the budget deficits;

(2) directs the President and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to strengthen United States cooperation with the central banks and other appropriate institutions of our major allies to reduce the misalignment of the dollar while ensuring noninflationary growth of their combined money supplies; and

(3) believing that the favorable impact of these actions could be enhanced by potential coordinated intervention in the exchange markets, directs the President to resolve current policy ambiguity by formally withdrawing the May 4, 1981, policy of non-intervention in exchange markets (except after a crisis of disorder arises) and by reaffirming the principles of responsible exchange-market stewardship agreed to at the Williamsburg economic summit.●

JUNE 15, 1984, IS SLOAKUM MEMORIAL DAY

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, June 15, 1984, is Sloakum Memorial Day. Many of my colleagues in this Chamber have never heard of the *General Sloakum*. While the name seems strange and foreign, the effect the *General Sloakum* has had on the American people, and especially the people of New York is very real.

The *General Sloakum* was a large pleasure boat which ran cruises along New York City's waterways in the early 1900's. On June 15, 1904, the ship caught fire while cruising on the East River of New York. As a result of carelessly designed safety procedures, 1,020 lives were lost.

Four score years after this ship went ablaze, we have learned many lessons from this tragic accident. These strict-

er safety procedures apply to sailing ships and many other areas of public transportation.

It is one of the most unfortunate conditions of mankind that we often must experience the tragedy of a catastrophe before we are ready to introduce reforms. The *General Sloakum* was a case in point. Many of the safety devices were not easily accessible. Poor communication aboard the ship resulted in chaos and confusion that ended in mass death.

History provides key lessons. We have certainly come a long way in improving safety on mass transportation. Remembering the *General Sloakum* should reaffirm our strong commitment to safety.

Today, I join the Sloakum Memorial Committee of the Queens Historical Society in requesting that June 15, 1984, be designated as Sloakum Memorial Day on behalf of the lives that were lost aboard the *General Sloakum*. Remembering this historic date is not only a way for us to pay homage to the dead, it is also a way for us to insure that this will not happen in the future.●

A SALUTE TO THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BOMB TECHNICIANS & INVESTIGATORS

HON. GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize a very special group of people, the International Association of Bomb Technicians & Investigators. This is a group of 2,500 persons from the United States and 29 other nations, who are members of police departments, fire departments, the military, and the private sector. Many of these are the people you read about in the morning newspaper when you read of bombs being defused or a bombing being investigated. They also do extensive work in protecting visiting dignitaries from other countries. Last week this group held its annual convention in Oklahoma City, OK, and I think it is only fitting that we take a few moments to pay tribute to their valiant efforts.

Throughout the years, those in the field of disposing of explosive devices, whether military or improvised, have been highly skilled, dedicated, and motivated. The people in the profession have risked their lives on numerous occasions to save the lives of others. Since 1972 over 146 of these professionals have been killed by explosive devices. In that same timespan, 87 civilians and countless military personnel have been injured in these explosions.

Many of these incidents have generated national headlines. Members of the Washington, DC, metro bomb squad, along with technicians from other Federal agencies, were present when a truck alleged to be carrying 1,000 pounds of explosives was parked next to the Washington Monument in 1982. Members of the International Association of Bomb Technicians & Investigators were also involved in the defusing of extortion bombs at the Gulf refinery in Baytown, TX, and I need not remind you of the recent Capitol bombing where members of the Association played an important role in investigating the blast.

The world we live in is many times a violent one as terrorism presents an ever increasing threat to our freedom and our way of life. I feel much safer knowing that people such as these are willing to put their lives on the line for the safety of us all.

More times than not, the bravery and valor of these people goes unnoticed. That is why I would like to take this opportunity to recognize these men and women, and commend them for the fine job they do. We owe the International Association of Bomb Technicians & Investigators and all of the people in this profession a great deal of thanks.●

IN SUPPORT OF HANDGUN CRIME SUPPORT BILL

HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I am grieved by a senseless tragedy that occurred last week, another involving a young boy and a handgun. Statistics show us that every 3 minutes someone in this country is injured by a handgun, and this time it was one of the families of my district, the Plunketts, whose lives were affected. Jimmy Plunkett, who was finishing his sophomore year at Winchester High School, will not be going back because of a handgun accident that was fatal. It happened in his home with his own father's handgun that was always kept under lock, except this time. Jimmy will be missed dearly and I am sorry for Jimmy's family and his friends.

We are all victims of guns and we all suffer from the tragedy of Jimmy's death and other fatalities involving handguns that are replayed over and over again each day whether the gun is in our own hands or in the hands of another. Handguns continue to proliferate our city streets and communities at an alarming rate of one new handgun produced and sold in this country every 13 seconds.

We must settle this issue once and for all. We not only need tougher laws

on crimes that involve handguns. We need strict uniform Federal codes on the sale, ownership, licensing, and transfer of all handguns in this country. With the wide disparity in laws governing handguns in all 50 States and the easy access to other States, this is the only way to bring down the atrocious number of handgun-related homicides, suicides, and accidents in this country.

In 1980 alone, handguns killed 77 people in Japan; 8 in Great Britain; 24 in Switzerland; 8 in Canada; 23 in Israel; 18 in Sweden; 4 in Australia; while that same year the death toll from handguns in the United States stands at over 11,500 people. All of these countries, except the United States have tough, uniform laws on the ownership of all handguns requiring thorough background checks, permits for possession of a handgun, and handgun registration.

It angered me recently when the Senate Judiciary Committee tried to ease the restrictions on the interstate sales of handguns. Their argument for a sportsman hunting out of his home State in need of a replacement rifle or shotgun may be one thing but does that mean we should grant the sale of all guns including snub-nosed revolvers to out-of-state residents. Fortunately, the committee realized the potential dangers and saw fit to restrict the new interstate sales to long-barreled guns only.

But we need tougher restrictions on handguns and we need them now. I urge my colleagues to support the handgun crime control bill, H.R. 1543 and I urge that we act on this legislation now. The bill eliminates the Saturday night special, the same type of gun that killed Robert Kennedy and John Lennon, paralyzed George Wallace and nearly killed President Reagan. This is not a sporting handgun and we need this weapon outlawed. The bill also creates a mandatory waiting period and background check for the purchase of a handgun; and shuts down the black market for handguns by stopping the purchase of them in bulk and requiring that loss or theft of handguns be reported at once.

Handgun crime control measures have proven to work not only in other countries but in cities and States around our country, as well. But that is not enough and we need to enact Federal legislation to stop crime nationwide. Please join in protecting all Americans from one of the greatest dangers on our streets—handguns.●

SOLVING THE PENTAGON PROCUREMENT PROBLEM

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert my Washington report for Wednesday, June 6, 1984, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

SOLVING THE PENTAGON PROCUREMENT PROBLEM

Many Hoosiers have told me of their strong concern about waste and fraud in defense procurement. An unending litany of "horror stories" confirms their concern and shows that the Pentagon has a long way to go in the struggle against waste. Recently, the Navy paid \$110 each for a 4 cent electronic part. In another case, only the alert action of a sergeant kept the Air Force from paying \$3,136.61 for simple parts worth 34 cents. Purchasing agents had ordered the item by number and did not know what they were ordering. It is obvious that a strong dose of common sense is needed to improve this process.

Cost escalation is also a major problem in defense procurement. The Grace Commission reported that 25 major weapons systems had risen in cost from the original projection of \$104 billion in 1977 to \$339.2 billion today. Hoosiers are right in their view that someone is not minding the store, and in demanding corrective action.

Some of these huge cost increases are due to factors such as inflation, the long-term trend toward more complex and costly weapons, and the Administration's defense buildup. Procurement, which was 27 percent of defense spending in 1981, will rise to 40 percent in the administration's fiscal year 1988 budget. With so much money being spent so quickly to buy so many new weapons, the probability of waste and cost escalation is high.

My sense is that the problem of escalating procurement costs has begun to jeopardize our national defense. Public concern about waste in defense spending undermines support for an adequate military budget. As costs grow, the Armed Services can buy fewer weapons, which in turn means smaller production runs, higher unit prices, and further cutbacks in the number of weapons purchased. Thus, our tax dollars buy fewer and fewer of the weapons our forces require. What can be done about this serious problem?

First, and most important, we must increase competition. The Pentagon prefers to buy from prime contractors with proven records for timely delivery of complex weapons systems. Thus, only 6 percent of all defense contracts are awarded through competitive bidding, and this percentage has been dropping. While it may not be feasible to handle all defense purchases competitively, I believe it is essential to increase competition sharply by:

(1) More use of dual-source contracts whereby, once production begins, two producers are guaranteed a base percentage of a weapons system but the remaining percentage goes to the best performer. For example, the Air Force may save \$3 billion over 20 years by the ongoing competition between two firms to produce the larger share of the next generation of fighter engines;

(2) A strong shift to competitive contracts for common commercial products such as lubricants, simple tools, and office supplies. Many of these contracts could be set aside for small businesses, which could then compete for a fair share of the Pentagon procurement dollar;

(3) Increased emphasis on competition by the Pentagon itself. This might involve: encouraging employee efforts to promote competition; assigning competition advocates to each military purchasing agency; buying spare parts directly from manufacturers instead of from prime-contractor middlemen; and limiting contractors' proprietary rights on defense products and technologies.

Second, we must strike a better balance between maintaining the technological edge of our forces and holding costs down. The Pentagon has sometimes been excessive in its efforts to achieve the last 5 percent improvement in a system's performance, at up to 50 percent higher cost. Effective use of high-tech in defense is essential to counter Soviet quantitative advantages, but it will do us no good to design technologically superior weapons if they are too costly to buy in needed quantities.

Third, structural changes are needed in the procurement process. Accountability is not adequate. Pentagon program managers have too little authority and are transferred too often. Interservice rivalries continue to foster wasteful duplication rather than standardization of weapons for similar missions performed by the Services. Management improvements, such as multi-year contracts for major weapons systems, better cost accounting, and more aggressive auditing are needed. The practice among military procurement officers and project managers of taking early retirement to work at high salaries in the defense industry must be curbed. Similarly, we must not allow defense contractors to submit artificially low initial cost estimates with the hope of recovering the full costs later. If the Pentagon and Congress "buy into" such a program, a big cost overrun is almost assured.

Fourth, Congress must do a better job of oversight. It has already imposed tighter reporting requirements on costs of major weapons systems, mandated the creation of an independent Inspector General's office in the Pentagon, and approved use of some multiyear contracts.

Congress should impose still tighter reporting requirements on costs of both major weapons systems and spare parts. It should also insist on rapid progress by the Pentagon toward more competition and a greater role for small businesses in procurement. The percentage of competitive contracts should increase each year until most procurement is subject to free market bidding. To promote weapons standardization, Congress should closely monitor all weapons systems under consideration by the Pentagon and insist on a full explanation from the Services when viable joint programs are not adopted. Congress should also insist that the government seek performance warranties on weapons from arms makers. We have had enough of paying for weapons that don't work. With billions in tax dollars and the effectiveness of our national defense at stake, a broad array of reforms are needed to stop Pentagon waste. As the defense budget grows, the Congress must increase the pressure for results.●

WEST VIRGINIA'S NONRUBBER
FOOTWEAR INDUSTRY

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the footwear caucus, I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep concern about the decline of our nonrubber footwear industry. This decline is particularly evident in West Virginia's Second Congressional District, which I have the great privilege of representing.

West Virginia's nonrubber footwear industry plays a critical role in the State's economy. It employs about 2,250 people in direct manufacturing and another 250 people in rubber and plastic footwear manufacturing. The shoe industry is the only significant source of employment in Hampshire and Pendleton Counties—both located in my district. It is, moreover, a major employer in Preston, Randolph, and Tucker Counties, also in my district.

Yet the shoe industry is feeling the pinch of imports in West Virginia and other States with footwear manufacturing plants. Since the administration discontinued shoe import limitations in 1981, imports into the United States have surged; 2 years ago, imported shoes accounted for half of the U.S. market; today, they comprise almost two-thirds of our market.

In response to this increasing import penetration, the footwear industry has been suffering through a wave of factory closings. Nationally, about 27,000 manufacturing jobs have been lost and 50 factories closed. In West Virginia, the recent closing of factories in Elkins, White Sulphur Springs, Huntington, and Romney has resulted in the loss of almost 1,000 jobs. With West Virginia still leading the Nation in unemployment, this loss of jobs is all the more devastating to our State's economy.

In light of the important role which the nonrubber footwear industry plays in the economic health of West Virginia, I wish to express my strong support of the industry's petition for relief under section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974. With temporary relief, the shoe industry would be able to devote more of its resources to research and modernization. In this way, it would be able to regain its competitiveness, thereby creating thousands of jobs for the people of my district as well as our Nation. ●

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

BROOKFIELD ZOO'S 50TH
BIRTHDAY

HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, during the past year, there have been a number of events to celebrate the 50th birthdays of Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, two cartoon characters who, for generations, have entertained Americans young and old. For the past 50 years, Chicago's Brookfield Zoo, located in the tree-lined community of Brookfield, IL, in my district, has entertained the young and the old from the Chicagoland area who are interested in real animals. Brookfield Zoo is known internationally for the many species housed there and for its breeding of rare and endangered species. I believe it appropriate, therefore—and I am proud—to relate a bit of Brookfield Zoo's history to my colleagues as my way of saying "Happy 50th Birthday" to this outstanding learning and leisure time facility and of congratulating the many people who have made it possible.

One of the largest zoos in the Nation, Brookfield—which opened its doors on June 30, 1934—was the first zoo to exhibit the Panda bear, which we Americans find so lovable. Its list of firsts is lengthy.

Brookfield Zoo was the first in the United States to be based on the naturalistic concept—there are no bars at Brookfield's Children's Zoo—and now the naturalist approach is the goal of zoos around the world.

The zoo was the first to breed the reticulated giraffe, Dall sheep, Przewalski horse, addax, black rhinoceros, tarsier, Kodiak bear, green-crested basilisk lizard, and okapi. The first hairy-nosed wombat born outside of Australia was born at Brookfield Zoo on July 2, 1974.

The okapi deserves more than passing mention. It was the last land mammal to be identified in this century, and Brookfield was the first zoo in America to breed and raise okapis successfully. Zoo officials, therefore, have named Fredricka Okapi as mother of the year. Fredricka, who was born at the zoo in 1961, has contributed generously to the okapi herds in the United States.

Partly in honor of Fredricka, Brookfield gave special recognition on Mother's Day this year to the first 1,000 mothers who came through its gates. Fathers are slated for similar tributes on Father's Day.

Special events abound year round at Brookfield, but visitors during the first 2 weeks in July this year will find a lot of different activities under a big tent. There will be children's concerts during the day, evening concerts,

Scout days, plays, and more—all part of the zoo's 50th anniversary celebration.

Brookfield Zoo is a well-run adventure in learning, a delightful place to spend the day. I congratulate zoo director George Rabb, the 289 other zoo employees who help to make Brookfield so popular, the many friends who contribute their time and money to its success, and the residents of the village of Brookfield who put out the welcome mat to zoo visitors. Brookfield's 50th birthday spells happy days for all who visit there. ●

THE DEFECTIVE AIRCRAFT
REMEDY ACT

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday June 6, 1984

● Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, existing consumer laws provide reasonable redress for defective consumer products. However, for the owners of general aviation aircraft, there is little opportunity for such redress without resorting to time-consuming and costly litigation.

Aircraft owners must meet the rigid safety standards established by the Federal Aviation Administration, or else lose their airworthiness certification. If their airplanes are defective, owners must face considerable expense in complying with routine airworthiness directives issued by the FAA. Since existing warranties on aircraft are very limited, it is difficult for aircraft owners to recover even part of the cost of the repairs required by the FAA, even when those repairs are the result of a design or manufacturing defect.

With this in mind, I am reintroducing legislation to help aircraft owners recover some of the expenses incurred in complying with airworthiness directives in cases when the safety problem is the clear result of a design or manufacturing defect.

My bill, the Defective Aircraft Remedy Act, requires the Secretary of Transportation to determine whether an airworthiness directive is required because of a safety problem caused by a design or manufacturing defect. If so, the bill requires the manufacturer to either repair the defective part without charge, or to reimburse the owner for the cost of the parts if the owner elects to have the repairs done himself. The bill specifically excludes labor charges as reimbursable expenses, and sets a time limit on a manufacturer's liability of 1 year from the finding that a defect exists. The bill also sets requirements for notification by the manufacturer of a design or manufacturing defect, and establishes

penalties for failure to comply. The Secretary of Transportation is given the authority to waive or reduce the fines.

My bill is not intended to interfere in any way with existing aviation safety procedures. However, I am hopeful that the introduction of the bill will lead to a satisfactory resolution of aircraft warranty problems.●

INDEPENDENT BANKING PRESERVATION ACT

HON. BRUCE F. VENTO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Independent Banking Preservation Act. This measure was developed in cooperation with the Independent Bankers of Minnesota and with other State organizations in mid-America including Illinois and Louisiana.

The Independent Banking Preservation Act is similar in several aspects to the measure introduced last week by the chairman of the Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee. But, in addition, it has some features which I believe are critical to the survival of the small- and medium-sized banks so vital to our national and local economies.

Banking is both a fundamental and an indispensable factor in our economy. Banks sit at the very core of the growing United States and, indeed, international economic activities. We could not run our modern economy without banks. The safety and soundness of banks are part and parcel of our national security. And as our economy becomes more complex, the importance of banking as its catalyst grows geometrically.

No matter how many new financial services develop—that is, corporations going directly to the securities markets to raise working capital—banks are still the unique institutions privileged to take the savings of the poor and the wealthy, the weak and the powerful, with a promise of instantaneous repayment and, at the same time to make credit-worthiness judgments about individual borrowers. Banks, therefore, make the solid pledge to lend money safely when they deem it prudent, for whatever length of time, at rates and on terms that they are free to objectively establish. No matter the amount of demand that a bank may experience in the next day or week, a bank's unique Federal franchise and role mean that the qualitative and quantitative credit essential to the viability of the U.S. private and public economy is available.

The only notable exceptions to this unique bank privilege or responsibility

are the licenses permitted in recent years to savings and loan associations, to assist them in the management of portfolio imbalances; and the industrial loan companies or consumer banks which are allowed in some States to make commercial loans.

Today, the structure of banking and related financial institutions has become a critical national public policy question. Are we going to tolerate and encourage the concentration of large banks whose failure could jeopardize all banks, or are we going to more fully realize the Jeffersonian economic ideal of our Nation—a nation of independent, self-reliant, community oriented, sound business and financial institutions? This legislation, the Independent Bank Preservation Act, attempts to address these questions. By congressional action it restores the necessary structural banking policy balance to maintain disseminated, sound, efficient, and finally independent banks as the benchmarks of U.S. banking.

Arguments have emerged in recent months concerning the national policy that should shape banking activities. Clearly, unprecedented fiscal and monetary economic problems have been compounded by the rather cavalier actions of our national financial institutions' regulators. Fifty years of solid regulatory framework has been shunted aside to the tortured logic of banking loophole artists. Neither the sky is falling crisis logic of bank mergers nor the lowest common denominator reasoning, which suggests that a single State action mandates the regulators to stand the time honored regulatory framework on its head, are acceptable reasons for the regulatory action. These arguments miss the mark, and, frankly, smack of the regulators' commitment to a new agenda. Their objectives are clearly out of sync with the intent of the public policy as expressed in the current Federal laws and accord a unique role for banking in the U.S. economy. The hallmark of bank regulation today has become uncertainty; no one is certain of their powers, responsibility, or competition. When you do not know where you are going, it is a safe bet that you will have difficulty determining how to get there, and where you are today. Such is the dilemma that banks are experiencing.

Today, therefore, I am introducing the Independent Banking Preservation Act, to restore and buttress the legal regulatory framework, which is under assault. Action on these policy initiatives, which I believe will win wide support, will go a long way in laying to rest the turmoil that today grips our financial institutions and economic system. While some financial institutions are experiencing difficulties today, the genesis of these problems has hardly been solely the regulatory

framework; rather the poor quality of the business decisions and the judgment of the market are evident in many of these problems. The regulatory framework has not solely created such problems nor can it alone resolve them.

This Independent Banking Preservation Act has a number of provisions. First, it closes the non-bank bank loophole and restrains the activities of savings and loan associations that do not and will not engage in residential mortgage lending. It also puts an end to the South Dakota phenomenon of allowing State banks to exercise powers only outside of the State. Perhaps most importantly, this measure addresses the growing phenomenon of banking merger mania and concentration.

Specifically, the features of this legislation additionally include:

A title to prohibit predatory pricing of deposit account rates. This title resolves the ambiguity of the applicability of the Robinson-Putman Act to the field of banking.

A title to defuse the intense lobbying push for developing regional interstate banking. In this period when job creating is so important to local economies, it is difficult, if not impossible, for State legislators to resist the appeal of jobs promised by large out-of-state institutions, despite the effects of encouraging further concentration of banking resources and circumventing Federal policy regarding financial institutions. Most people would agree in the abstract that promoting concentration are easily overlooked in competition between States to simply add to employment rolls in the short run.

A title to limit the parties to proposed emergency acquisitions of failing financial institutions. The Congress and the public are justly concerned about the unintended consequences of the 1982 legislation. The 1982 law has a feature intended primarily to help solve the serious maturity problems of savings and loan associations. The Federal bank regulators have aggressively reinterpreted the purpose of this and other provisions. These regulators have literally encouraged and blessed the largest bank holding company in this country, which also happens to be the largest corporation of any type in this country, to become, in the words of its chairman, "a national deposit-taking institution."

If the provision of the 1982 law had explicitly permit Citicorp to acquire savings and loans in California, Illinois, and Florida, it would have been soundly defeated. Surely Congress should not allow indirectly that which we did not intend or allow directly.

In concurrence with the intention of the Garn/St Germain act, this measure explicitly strengthens that law to

prohibit the top 50 banks or bank holding companies from participating in interstate emergency mergers. If, as I believe, we are opposed to concentration in the financial services industry, we should not give a license to the largest corporations to become even larger just because we want to compensate for the economic consequences and the contradiction between a runaway fiscal policy and restrictive monetary policy.

Should we dismantle the regulatory framework in banking just because a giant institution will pay the highest price to gain access to new markets with dubious economic benefits? The harmful results of this policy are too high a price to pay. It undermines the time honored independent bank network vital to our economy and encourages the creation of dominant banks which today are all too often saddled with portfolios of nonperforming, speculative, troubled, international and domestic loans, clearly the product of poor management. These bad balance sheets are not changed by merger or cosmetic treatment by regulators. Rather, they create institutions that are prime candidates for broad economic collapse or National Government bailouts.

A title to allow small banks to avoid the regulatory costs of bank holding company formation by prior notification of intent to engage in bank holding company activities within defined limits. A small bank could engage in bank holding company activities if the Federal Reserve Board has not disapproved such proposed activities within 45 days after receipt of such notice. The Federal Reserve Board could review the impact of such new activities and, after consultation with the other appropriate regulators, could order the small bank to terminate such activities. This provision would insure that the safety, soundness and stability of the small bank would not be impaired. At the same time it would create a streamlined procedure and reduce the imposition of needless costs and delays on smaller banks.

Finally, a title to change the rules for entry of foreign banks into local markets. The Comptroller would be prohibited from approving such an entry unless State law specifically permits it. In addition, no foreign bank entry could be approved unless the bank's home country grants reciprocal access privileges to U.S. banks.

Many bankers generally oppose expanded bank powers solely for power's sake alone. They have learned that such new asset powers have historically worked to enrich money center banks and have resulted in the further concentration of economic power. This has been a disservice to the consumer and contradicts the Jeffersonian ideal which guides our financial, banking, and economic system.

While some independent bankers would seek real estate brokerage and other significant powers for small banks, these initiatives are specifically not included in the measure I am introducing today. These issues may well have detracted from the clarity and intent of this national banking policy initiative which is so desperately needed. Accordingly, these matters and that debate are deferred.

It is my hope that this legislation will serve to broaden the consideration of banking legislation in the next months. All too often this discussion has been based upon the presumption that sound public policy dictates that banks receive new asset powers. In reality this view only represents one facet of the many alternatives available to the Congress. Members of the House, Members of the other body, Federal regulators and members of the financial community have been subjected to a constant drumbeat orchestrated by the Department of Treasury and the big banks to encourage the Federal Government to provide banks with new powers. This monotonous refrain has been reinforced by the action of Federal regulators who have embarked upon de facto deregulation in direct contradiction with the expressed intent of Congress. The Congress has not directly or indirectly repealed the limitation on interstate banking or the separation of banking and commerce. However, unless this body acts to reiterate its intent, I am afraid that it will become even more difficult for Congress to reassert its primacy in establishing policy in this area.

Within the context of the future congressional action on banking legislation, this measure will provide the Members of this body with an opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to the diverse and decentralized nature of our financial institutions. In addition, by cosponsoring this legislation, Members are indicating their support for the safety and soundness of our banking system by maintaining the long established limits upon interstate banking and the necessary separation of banking and commerce.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring this important legislation, the text of which follows:

H.R. 5793

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Independent Banking Preservation Act".

DEFINITION OF BANK

SEC. 2. Section 2(c) of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 (12 U.S.C. 1841(c)) is amended to read as follows:

"(c)(1) The term 'bank' means—

"(A) an 'insured bank' as such term is defined in section 3(h) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act;

"(B) any institution which is eligible to make an application to become an insured bank under section 5 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act; or

"(C) any institution organized under the laws of the United States, any State of the United States, the District of Columbia, any territory of the United States, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands, which—

"(i) accepts deposits that the depositor may withdraw by check or similar means for payment to third parties; and

"(ii) is engaged in the business of making commercial loans.

"(2) The term 'bank' also includes any institution the accounts of which are insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation or an institution chartered by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board if such institution is owned or controlled by a unitary savings and loan holding company and devotes less than 70 percent of its assets to residential mortgages and related investments on average during a calendar year.

"(3) The term 'bank' does not include any organization operating under section 25 or 25(a) of the Federal Reserve Act, or any organization that does not do business within the United States, except as an incident to its activities outside the United States.

"(4) The term 'bank' also includes a State chartered bank or a national banking association which is owned exclusively (except to the extent directors' qualifying shares are required by law) by other depository institutions or by a bank holding company which is owned exclusively by other depository institutions and is organized to engage exclusively in providing services for other depository institutions, their parent holding companies, subsidiaries thereof, and the officers, directors, and employees of each."

DIVESTING ACTIVITIES OF NONQUALIFYING UNITARY SAVINGS AND LOAN HOLDING COMPANIES

SEC. 3. Section 4(a) of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 (12 U.S.C. 1843(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "or" at the end of paragraph (1);

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking out "authority was so terminated by the Board," and inserting in lieu thereof "authority was so terminated by the Board, or"; and

(3) by adding after paragraph (2) the following:

"(3) after one year as of which it becomes a bank holding company, in the case of a company which becomes a bank holding company by reason of the enactment of the Independent Banking Preservation Act or by reason of allowing the proportion of its assets invested in residential mortgages or related investments on average in any calendar year to fall below 70 percent of its total assets, retain direct or indirect ownership or control of any voting shares of any company which is not a bank or bank holding company or engage in any activities other than—

"(A) those of banking or of managing or controlling banks and other subsidiaries authorized under this Act or of furnishing services to or performing services for its subsidiaries; and

"(B) those permitted under subsection (c)(8) of this section subject to all the conditions specified in such paragraph or in any order or regulation issued by the Board under such paragraph. For purposes of this

section, the term 'related investment' means—

- “(i) securities backed by residential mortgages;
- “(ii) retail mobile home loans;
- “(iii) home improvement loans; and
- “(iv) loans to finance the construction of residential properties.”.

PROHIBITION OF MERGERS BY LARGEST BANKS

SEC. 4. (a) Section 13(c)(2) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(c)(2)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

“(C) The Board shall not take any of the actions referred to in clauses (i) through (iii) of subparagraph (A) in connection with any merger or consolidation between an insured bank and any company which controls or will acquire control if that company is an insured bank or a holding company with total assets (as determined from its most recent report of condition) that place it among the 50 largest insured banks or bank holding companies in the United States.”.

(b) Section 13(c)(3) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(c)(3)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “, except that the Board shall not offer financial assistance to any company which controls or will acquire control if that company is an insured bank or a holding company with total assets (as determined from its recent report of condition) that place it among the 50 largest insured banks or bank holding companies in the United States”.

(c) Section 13(f)(2)(A) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(f)(2)(A)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “, except that the Corporation shall not arrange such a sale if the out-of-State bank or bank holding company is among the 50 largest banks as determined by its total assets as reported in its most recent report of condition”.

(d) Section 13(f)(3)(A)(i) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(f)(3)(A)(i)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “, except that the Corporation shall not arrange such a sale if the out-of-State bank or bank holding company is among the 50 largest banks as determined by its total assets as reported in its most recent report of condition”.

(e) Section 13(f)(5) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(f)(5)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “, except that the Corporation shall not solicit or accept offers or proposals from the 50 largest banks or their holding companies as determined by total assets reported in its most recent report of condition”.

(f) Section 408(m)(1)(A)(i) of the National Housing Act (12 U.S.C. 1730a(m)(1)(A)(i)) is amended to read as follows:

“(m)(1)(A)(i) Notwithstanding any provision of the laws or constitution of any State or any provision of Federal law, except as provided in subsections (e)(2) and (1) of this section, and in clause (iii) of this subparagraph, the Corporation, upon its determination that severe financial conditions exist which threaten the stability of a significant number of insured institutions, or of insured institutions possessing significant financial resources, may authorize, in its discretion and where it determines such authorization would lessen the risk to the Corporation, an insured institution that is eligible for assistance pursuant to section 406(f) of this Act to merge or consolidate with, or to transfer

its assets and liabilities to, any other insured institution or any insured bank (as such term 'insured bank' is defined in section 3(h) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act), provided that such insured bank shall not be among the 50 largest banks as determined by total assets reported in its most recent report of condition, may authorize any other insured institution to acquire control of said insured institution, or may authorize any company to acquire control of said insured institution or to acquire the assets or assume the liabilities thereof, provided that such company shall not be associated in any manner with an insured bank which is among the 50 largest banks as determined by total assets reported in its most recent report of condition.”.

(g) Section 408(m)(2) of the National Housing Act (12 U.S.C. 1730a(m)(2)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “, except that the Corporation shall not solicit or accept offers or proposals from the 50 largest insured banks or their holding companies as determined by total assets reported in its most recent report of condition”.

(h) Section 205(i)(1) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1785(i)(1)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “and further provide that the Board shall not authorize the acquisition or purchase of an insured credit union by any insured bank or holding company which is among the 50 largest insured banks as determined by total assets reported in its most recent report of conditions”.

(i) Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, any bank, insured bank, insured institution, bank holding company, or savings and loan holding company, whose assets in its most recent report of condition place it among the 50 largest banks, bank holding companies, institutions or savings and loan holding companies, as the case may be, and that acquired, purchased or merged with an insured bank pursuant to section 13(c)(2)(A) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, with an out-of-State bank pursuant to section 13(f)(2)(A) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, with an insured institution pursuant to section 408 of the National Housing Act, or with an insured credit union pursuant to section 205(i)(1) of the Federal Credit Union Act on or after January 1, 1983, shall not retain direct or indirect control or ownership after January 1, 1985.

INTERSTATE COMPACTS

SEC. 5. The first sentence of section 3(d) of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 (12 U.S.C. 1842(d)) is amended by striking out “, unless the acquisition” and all that follows through the end of such sentence and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

MORATORIUM

SEC. 6. (a) On or after the effective date of this Act, no State-chartered depository institution may commence, either directly or indirectly, including through a subsidiary, any activity not previously and lawfully engaged in by that institution unless—

(1) such activity was authorized for that type of institution explicitly and not by implication by a State statute adopted, or by interpretation promulgated thereunder, prior to January 1, 1983;

(2) such activity is permitted under section 4(c)(8) of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 for a bank holding company; or

(3) such activity is explicitly authorized by a State statute, or interpretation promulgated thereunder, and is performed exclusively

in the State authorizing such activity for customers present in the State.

(b) This section does not authorize the conduct of any activities currently prohibited to State chartered depository institutions under section 20 of the Banking Act of 1933.

(c) Any State chartered depository institution that commenced, directly or indirectly, including through a subsidiary, on or after June 23, 1983, any activity that would have been prohibited by this Act if commenced after the date of the enactment of this Act shall, upon enactment of this Act, immediately terminate such activity.

PREDATORY RATES ON ACCOUNTS, DEPOSITS, AND INSTRUMENTS

SEC. 7. (a) It shall be unlawful for any bank—

(1) to be a party to, or assist in, any transaction by which the payment of interest on accounts, deposits, or credit instruments is made at a greater rate than those paid by such bank elsewhere in the United States for the purpose of destroying competition, or eliminating a competitor in such part of the United States; or

(2) to be a party to, or assist in, any transaction by which the payment of interest on accounts, deposits, or credit instruments are set at unreasonably high rates of interest for the purpose of destroying competition or eliminating a competitor.

(b) Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$100,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

AMENDMENTS TO THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING ACT

SEC. 8. Section 4(a) of the International Banking Act of 1978 (12 U.S.C. 3102) is amended to read as follows:

“(a)(1) Except as provided in section 5 of this Act, a foreign bank which engages directly in a banking business outside the United States may, with the approval of the Comptroller, establish one Federal branch or agency in any State in which—

“(A) it is not operating a branch or agency pursuant to State law; and

“(B) the establishment of a branch or agency, as the case may be, by a foreign bank is authorized explicitly, and not by implication, by State law.

“(2) The Comptroller shall not approve any application for a foreign bank to engage in the banking business within the United States unless he finds that the laws of the foreign country in which the foreign bank is organized provides reciprocal treatment to United States banks.”.

BANK HOLDING COMPANY POWERS FOR SMALL BANKS

SEC. 9. (a)(1) Any small bank which desires to engage directly or through a subsidiary in any activities authorized for bank holding companies pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 shall submit an application to the Board.

(2) Such application shall contain such information as the Board may prescribe by regulation and shall include the most recent Statement of Condition for such small bank.

(3) A small bank may commence such activities 45 days after the date on which such application is submitted to the Board unless, during such 45-day period, the Board issues an order disapproving such proposed activities.

(b)(1) The Board may, from time to time, require reports, under oath, to keep the Board informed as to whether the activities authorized by this section constitute a risk

to the financial safety, soundness, or stability of the small bank involved.

(2) The Board may make examinations of each small bank, the cost of which shall be assessed against, and paid by, such small bank.

(3) The Board shall, as far as possible, use the reports of examinations made by the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, or the appropriate State bank supervisory authority for purposes of this section.

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, the Board may, whenever it has reasonable cause to believe that the continuation by a small bank of any activity constitutes a serious risk to the financial safety, soundness, or stability of such small bank or is inconsistent with sound banking principles or with the Financial Institutions Supervisory Act of 1966, order the small bank (after due notice and opportunity for hearing and after considering the views of the bank's primary supervisor) to terminate such activities.

(d) For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "bank's primary supervisor" means—

(A) the comptroller of the currency in the case of a national bank; or

(B) the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the appropriate State supervisory authority in the case of an insured non-member bank; and

(2) the term "small bank" means any bank, as defined in section 2(c) of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, with assets of \$100,000,000 or less.●

THE DEAR COMMANDANTE TRIP

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of State recently paid a surprise visit to Nicaragua. The visit apparently resulted from a recommendation made to President Reagan by Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid during his recent State visit to Washington.

Foreign travel is certainly broadening. Mr. Reagan learned something, and he never had to leave home.

The Secretary of State had a useful exchange of views with Nicaraguan junta leader Daniel Ortega. No harm can come of the discussion. It might even lead to an outbreak of peace, uncharacteristic as that may be in the region.

One last item, Secretary Shultz referred to Mr. Ortega as "Commandante." I do not know if the rest of us will be entitled to follow suit.●

FERN LEROY BRITAIN, JR., AND JOSEPH FRANK, JR., BECOME EAGLE SCOUTS

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, it is a great honor for me today to bring to the attention of my colleagues 2 constituents of mine, Mr. Fern Leroy Brittain, Jr., and Mr. Joseph Frank, Jr., who will become Eagle Scouts on June 11, 1984.

Fern and Joseph, as members of Troop No. 427, have demonstrated through their accomplishments the ideals which scouting exemplifies. They have risen to the top of the ladder through years of hard work and dedication, exceeding their requirement of 21 merit badges necessary to achieve the highest position of leadership attainable by a scout. In their leadership capacities, Joseph serves as a senior patrol leader and Fern as a junior assistant scoutmaster.

Fern is completing his junior year at Sparrows Point High School with good academic standing, participating in a vocational program in auto mechanics. As a member of the Edgewood Baptist Church, he has given his time and inspiration as a pianist. Through community service, Fern has demonstrated a deep commitment to helping others in need. He has spent several summers working at the Edgemere Senior Citizens Center in Fort Howard, performing jobs wherever he was needed. He has received many additional awards in his scouting career including election to the order of the Arrow, a rare achievement which requires election by his fellow troop members.

Joseph's accomplishments are equally admirable. Also a junior at Sparrows Point, he is a member of the National Honor Society, and a trumpet player in the school band. In addition, he excels on the playing field, participating on the junior varsity football and varsity lacrosse teams. Joseph, too, has shown concern for his fellow citizens by working in the community as a volunteer at the Fort Howard Veterans' Administration Hospital. He has been an outstanding scout, with 30 merit badges to his credit.

Fern and Joseph have earned the respect and admiration of their fellow scouts and I am extremely honored to bring to the attention of my colleagues the accomplishments of these fine young men. I am proud to join Joseph Sr., and Charlotte Frank and Fern Sr., and Inez Brittain in congratulating their sons, not only for their outstanding achievements in scouting, but for their exemplary citizenship and community service.●

WE REMEMBER!

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, today as we reflect upon the 40th anniversary of the allied invasion of Europe at Normandy, we remember all those who died and all those who sacrificed their lives in the name of freedom. I would like to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors' message of remembrance which appeared today in the New York Times. I feel that this statement thoughtfully express the sentiments of those survivors of the Holocaust who today pay tribute to their liberators.

"Forty years ago, the allied armies stormed the beaches of Normandy. Word spread throughout every city and town, in the forests, and even within the inner chamber of hell itself—Auschwitz—that Hitler's 'Fortress Europa' was breached. A ray of hope was kindled for the entire world.

In the eleven months between D-Day and the liberation of Europe, thousands of American and other allied soldiers died in the struggle for freedom and democracy. With reverence, we recall the soldiers of all races, colors and creeds, young men and women, who sacrificed their lives to defeat Nazism. We will never forget how those brave soldiers who came ashore on June 6, 1944 became our liberators.

For millions of Jews, however, the landing at Normandy was the beginning of a desperate race against time. Round-ups and deportations increased, transports roared towards the death camps, gas chambers and crematoria worked around the clock.

Sadly, the allied armies arrived too late to save most of our families—millions of innocent men, women and over a million children who perished. Yet word of the invasion gave us courage to live another day. A few of us survived.

Forty years have not diminished our memory. Today, when President Reagan, President Mitterrand, Queen Elizabeth II, Prime Minister Trudeau and other European leaders commemorate that fateful day on the beaches of Normandy, we survivors of the Holocaust join in heart, spirit and gratitude in remembrance of the sacrifices of the allied armies forty years ago."

Benjamin Meed, President; Ulo Barat; Sam Halpern; Adam Boren; Israel Krakowski; Robert Born; Murray Pantirer; Milton Butnick; Joseph Sarna; Joseph Distenfeld; Henry Wrobel.●

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SUPPORT THE CONTADORA INITIATIVE

HON. FREDERICK C. BOUCHER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. BOUCHER. Mr. Speaker, I have long been convinced that the Conta-

dora initiative undertaken by the Governments of Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela, offers the clearest promise for the long-term sustaining of democratic institutions throughout Central America.

I firmly believe that a regional negotiated solution to Central America's problems is preferable to and more likely to succeed than military solutions imposed from the outside. This view is well stated in an editorial appearing in the Friday, June 1, 1984, edition of the Bristol Herald Courier. I commend this editorial to my colleagues:

PATH TO PEACE

There are two outcomes in Central America that would be unpopular in the United States. The American people don't want to see the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas win in El Salvador. And they don't want to send American boys to El Salvador to prevent a guerrilla victory. The American people dread either of these alternatives.

President Reagan knows that. So he wants to avoid the ultimate choice. And that is why he has taken the path of more military and economic aid to the government of El Salvador. He has appealed successfully to the American people and to Congress to follow his path. He hopes the government of Napoleon Duarte, who is the newly elected president of El Salvador, will be able to use the aid more effectively than previous governments, and the guerrillas will be defeated.

The American people would welcome this outcome, but few would bet on it.

There is another path to avoid the ultimate choice between a guerrilla victory and U.S. armed intervention in El Salvador, but it is not getting much publicity at the White House. It is to participate in a regional settlement.

Negotiations have been going on sporadically since 1982. They are called the Contadora initiative, after the island off the coast of Panama where Latin American leaders met in 1983 to draft the outlines of a Central American peace treaty.

Contadora has been endorsed by every major power, including Cuba, the United States, Nicaragua, Honduras and the Soviet Union. But its goal of halting foreign subversion and interventionism has been violated by all parties.

Negotiators can agree on goals, but they disagree hotly over specifics.

The squabbling resembles a family dispute, where everyone points the finger and no one admits blame. Even if the countries could agree on a non-aggression treaty, how would it be enforced?

On-site inspections by independent peacekeeping forces are the obvious answer. But after the failure of peacekeeping forces in Beirut, that answer is being questioned.

"The United States is firmly committed to a regional approach to peace," the State Department says.

But the tendency of the United States is to put little trust in multilateral negotiations, which we can't control, while increasing unilateral military aid, which we believe we can control.

That belief is the single thread upon which U.S. policy hangs, dangling a sword of Damocles above Central America. If President Reagan is right, the sword will force the Communists to lay down their arms. If he is wrong, the sword will fall, kill-

ing thousands of Latin American victims and swinging back to strike our own country.

All the threads of Central America meet at Contadora. Diplomats must size them and bind them into a fabric of mutual survival, of peace.

And the United States must give its support to the effort, not merely as an interested bystander and not necessarily at the conference table, but as a full participant behind the scenes.

Certainly we have a big stake in the outcome. We should work for the kind of agreement that we can support, and if such an agreement is reached, work to make it effective. ●

NEVER AGAIN

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a poem written by Nechama Schreiber Greenfield, who was one of the many thousands attending the historic American gathering of Jewish Holocaust survivors in Washington last year. This event occurred during the "Days of Remembrance for the Victims of the Holocaust," an annual national commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust.

Nechama Schreiber Greenfield's poems are in the Archives of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, and reflect man's inhumanity to man, and are a reminder for the rest of us who must be ever vigilant to prevent a recurrence:

NEVER AGAIN

(By Nechama Schreiber Greenfield)

We stand in awe at Yad Vashem
The holocaust must never happen again,
Six million of our people cruelly died
While the world stood by and no one tried
To prevent the deaths of adults and children
The holocaust must never happen again,
The terror of the past must live on
For the sake of the martyrs and those yet to be born,
We stand with tears at Yad Vashem
And tell the world don't let it happen again
Our people did not deserve to die that way
Yes, the memories must live on in our minds each day,
To hatred, wars, and needless deaths we must put an end
Life's too precious—the Holocaust must never happen again! ●

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE EMPLOYEES AND OFFICIALS AT NATICK LABS

HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to con-

gratulate all those who took part in the cost comparison process with regard to commercial activities at the Natick Research and Development Laboratories in Natick, MA. After a long and exhaustive procedure, the in-house operation was found to be substantially less expensive than contracting out to private enterprise.

I applaud the officials at Natick who oversaw the process for the integrity with which it was carried out. Having personally discussed the issue with many of them, I was extremely impressed with their professionalism and objectivity. It was clear to me that they took their responsibilities in this complex and potentially controversial endeavor very seriously. I am satisfied that their decision is a good one and will stand up under any further scrutiny.

And I particularly want to congratulate the employees at Natick whose duties were being considered for commercial contracts. The outcome of the bidding process demonstrates clearly that they have performed their duties with efficiency and dedication. They can be justly proud that their efforts have been recognized in a way that shows the true value of their work.

Many of us who have had concerns about the policy of contracting out tasks that have been performed by Federal employees have cited the intangibles, like dedication and loyalty, that cannot be quantified and, thus, place Federal employees at a disadvantage in these cost comparisons. Either the officials at Natick have found a way to capture these intangibles or the employees have prevailed in spite of them. In any case, the outcome reflects well on all those who participated and I, again, offer my congratulations. ●

WORLD MASTER CHI HOON CHO PROMOTES INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH SPORTS

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, the United States only recently became acquainted with the game known as Go, but in many countries of the East it is a cherished game requiring years to gain mastery. A world master of Go is as respected for his ability as is a world master of chess in the West. It is, therefore, an honor for me to inform my colleagues that on June 15, Go Master Chi Hoon Cho will begin a 10-day good will visit to the United States. The master will be here to demonstrate to the world that bonds of friendship may be forged among

countries by means of mutual participation in sports.

I need not remind my colleagues that it was the game of table tennis that brought the United States and China together after many years of isolation. While visiting here Chi Hoon Cho will take part in the fourth annual Go championship tournament which is sponsored by the Joong-ang Daily News. The master will participate in a number of exhibition games during his tour, and I sincerely hope that my colleagues will have an opportunity to observe the awesome skill of this renowned master.

One who wishes to become a Go master must dedicate himself to the game every bit as completely as one who would aspire to be a world class figure skater. And this kind of dedication has marked the life of Chi Hoon Cho. Born in Pusan, Korea, on June 15, 1956, Cho traveled to Japan in 1962 at the age of 6 to study under the ninth dan Master Gidani Minoru. By 1968 and the age of 12, he was ranked as a second dan. His skill has grown steadily over the years. In 1973 he ranked as a sixth dan. And by 1978 he had attained the rank of his teacher, ninth dan. His first major win came in 1973 when he dominated the prestigious Lo Masters Go Tournament sponsored by Asahi Shimbun. He went on in 1980 to obtain the fifth Meijin title, and with it, official recognition as a master by the Japanese Go Game Association. In 1981 he captured the Honinbang title, followed quickly in 1982 by retention of the Meijin title. And in 1983 he acquired the coveted Kisei title. After 20 years of astounding dedication to his sport, Chi Hoon Cho now holds three of the most prestigious Go titles in Japan.

The master's visit to the United States affords us a rare opportunity to forge new bonds of friendship through sports. As our growing participation in the sport of soccer is beginning to help us establish new relations with Europe and with our Latin American neighbors, it is my hope that the popularity of Go will be promoted in the United States through Chi Hoon Cho's visit, and that through Go the United States will establish an important source of interaction with our friends in the Asian countries. I am sure I speak for all my colleagues in offering a warm welcome to the United States to Master Chi Hoon Cho.●

IN TRIBUTE TO DICK CABLE

HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I rise to call your attention to the outstanding career of

Dick Cable, the dean of Sacramento television broadcasters. Throughout more than 15 years of dedicated public service at KXTV and personal commitment to the Sacramento community, Dick has exemplified what a television reporter can and ought to be.

Dick has provided Sacramento not only with fresh, objective reporting, but also with insightful commentary in his widely followed broadcasts. His thorough understanding of both local and national issues has helped him to sift through the barrage of national and international news and consistently bring home the events which most strongly affect his audience. His insights are far reaching, yet always pertinent and well considered.

Perhaps Dick's greatest quality as a newscaster is his strong commitment to public service. Dick cares deeply about his community and gives his time and energy generously to become involved in countless charities, fund drives, and local projects. His example as a newscaster and a citizen rooted in his community is an inspiration to us all. I fervently hope Dick continues to work in my home district for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I know you join me in congratulating and thanking Dick Cable for so many years of superlative reporting and community service.●

AUGUST TO BE DESIGNATED "OSTOMY AWARENESS MONTH"

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce a resolution on behalf of the nearly 1.5 million ostomates in North America and the approximately 125,000 individuals who join their ranks each year. These individuals represent all ages, races, occupations, and ethnic backgrounds. They have in common an ostomy. The word "ostomy" signifies a type of surgery required when a person has lost the normal function of the bowel or bladder, due to birth defect, disease, injury, or other disorder. Ostomates do return to normal living and community responsibility, but not without first overcoming the trauma associated with this radical surgery.

Public education and awareness can help. So can groups such as the United Ostomy Associations, Inc., with over 600 chapters and international affiliation. The association is dedicated to helping every ostomy patient return to normal living through mutual aid and moral support, education, exchange of ideas, assistance in improving ostomy equipment and supplies, advancement of knowledge of gastrointestinal diseases, and public education about ostomy.

It is important that the public have an understanding of this type of surgery, to lessen the fears for those about to undergo the surgery, and for family members and loved ones who are important in the rehabilitation process. For this reason, this House joint resolution designates the month of August 1984 as "Ostomy Awareness Month" to promote public education and awareness of this disorder.●

MRS. IRENE WALKER

HON. NORMAN SISISKY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. SISISKY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I note the death of a close friend and political leader of Chesapeake, VA.

Mrs. Irene Walker, who died on Thursday, May 31, was a woman with a breezy, good-natured, high-energy style that characterized everything she tackled, from clerical work to political work.

Her most recent position was the elected clerk of the Circuit Court in Chesapeake.

From 1975 to 1983, Irene served as chairwoman of the Chesapeake Democratic Committee. She was a party activist for 20 years before being elected to that position.

When Irene died, the city of Chesapeake lost a woman who has done as much for the people of the community as anyone I know.

Mr. Speaker, Irene was an intelligent, tough, caring person, who was an incredible bundle of energy. I mourn her loss.

I wish to extend my sympathy to Mrs. Walker's family and to all those people whose lives she touched.●

FBI UNDERCOVER OPERATIONS

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, on April 30, the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the House Committee on the Judiciary issued a 119-page report "FBI Undercover Operations."

The report is based on 21 hearings over a 4-year period and an extensive review of an enormous amount of documentation.

As a member of that subcommittee, I was shocked by the happenings in various FBI undercover jobs. I believe Members of Congress will be equally concerned over the threat these operations present to the liberties of innocent individuals.

I invite your attention to the excellent article by Nat Hentoff in the May 18, 1984, Washington Post, "When the FBI Creates Crimes." Mr. Hentoff reviews the subcommittee's efforts and stresses the importance of attentive congressional oversight lest the FBI becomes immune from accountability.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 18, 1984]

WHEN THE FBI CREATES CRIMES

(By Nat Hentoff)

In just about every newspaper interview with him, FBI Director William Webster appears to be the very reincarnation of Roger Baldwin. Awed reporters tell how he has transformed the bureau into a jealous guardian of civil liberties. All that is left of the dread founder is the name on the building.

When I think of Judge Webster, however, I remember another judge, Clarence Gaines of Cleveland. From 1977 to 1982, the FBI tried mightily to tempt members of the Cleveland Municipal Court to take bribes. Webster's agents used a con man to set up the judges, but he hustled the FBI instead, pocketing the bribe money and getting friends of his pose as "corrupt" judges. The FBI agents had not bothered to find out what the real judges looked like. A rookie cop in Sandusky knows better than that.

Names of the allegedly crooked judges began to be leaked. Some of the leaks, Cleveland reporters say, came from the FBI office there. One of the names was that of Clarence Gaines. If Norman Rockwell had drawn black judges, Gaines could have been one of his models. He is upright in every lineament or, as he puts it, "If they had only investigated the real me, they would have come to the conclusion that 'this square couldn't have been doing anything wrong.'"

The FBI bagged no judges in Cleveland, but nonetheless, reputations were stained. Among them that of Judge Gaines. He is as hurt as he is angry.

These FBI people I've looked up to so long, they're really very ordinary people, he told me. "They're capable of doing very stupid things, but things that have caused great damage because they have so much uncontrolled power. When the FBI hurts people, they hurt them forever."

Judge Gaines' comment could have been the epigraph to the most thorough and unsparing congressional investigation of the FBI in the bureau's history—the recently released FBI Undercover Operations. (A release overlooked in the news section of this paper.) The report is the result of four years of probing and 21 hearings by Don Edwards' House subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights. Previous explorations of such FBI horror shows as COINTELPRO have been frighteningly instructive, but this is the first large-scale, detailed account of how agents actually put cases together and the degree to which they and their supervisors keep in mind that the FBI has not been exempted from the Bill of Rights.

As the report makes overwhelmingly clear, there have been other innocent victims of the FBI's stings and scams besides Judge Gaines. And many of those eventually caught breaking the law would not have been convicted of that crime if the FBI had not set up the crime for them to commit. Judge Webster is a fan of these "proactive" methods. This is law enforcement jargon for: Why wait until the crime is committed to look for the perpetrator when you can

create a crime, see who falls into the honey pot, and scoop him up?

Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, prescient in this and in so many other things used to warn strenuously against this seductive approach to maximum police efficiency. In a 1928 case, Brandeis said, "the government may not provoke or create a crime, and then punish the criminal, its creature."

Brandeis was in dissent in that case, as he surely would have been in the Abscam cases today. But those admirers of Judge Webster's proactive techniques who crow that the appellate courts have sustained all the Abscam convictions might remember that the Dred Scott decision was the law of the land for quite a while too.

The subcommittee report on FBI undercover operations also proves repeatedly that the FBI's internal safeguards against agents' abusive power are "little more than rhetoric, offering at the best limited constraints upon the investigators with little or no protection to the public."

In Abscam alone, Mel Weinberg, the Sir Laurence Olivier of confidence men, did what he pleased much of the time, choosing which portions of which conversations he wanted surreptitiously to record and otherwise treating his FBI handlers as they were just another bunch of marks. As they were.

Then there was the FBI's Operation Color, a 1980-82 search for political corruption in North Carolina. Intent on setting up opportunities for law-breaking even if they had to bend a law or two themselves, FBI agents used undercover operators to initiate a local referendum permitting the sale of liquor by the drink, and then played an active role in the campaign to get it passed.

This is William Webster's FBI. The House subcommittee report is not a compendium only of aberrations. Furthermore, the field agents are as arrogant now as they were under J. Edgar Hoover. More so actually, because they benefit from the greatly improved press that Webster has achieved for the FBI. Also, Congress—with very few exceptions, notably Don Edwards—is afraid of the FBI because of the names of some innocent members that got dragged into Abscam. And a member critical of the bureau might be thought by his constituents to have something to hide.

So, Webster and the FBI have become immune from any meaningful accountability. Just as in J. Edgar Hoover's time. ●

RECOGNITION OF A DEDICATED FEDERAL WORKER

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it has become a cliché that big government is indifferent to human needs and that bureaucrats are a part, if not the source, of the problem. This image of the lazy, clock-watching Federal worker is most unfortunate, especially for those dedicated, hard-working people who through Government service have enhanced the lives of millions of American citizens.

I would like us to pause for a moment and shed our stereotype of Federal workers long enough to recog-

nize the accomplishments of one individual who has made a difference. His name: Mr. Dan Williams.

Mr. Williams is a soft-spoken southern gentleman who since 1979 has coordinated the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's age litigation. In his position he has quietly guided the Government's legal efforts to root out age discrimination from the workplace. During his term, the Government has filed an unprecedented number of lawsuits and has offered protection to untold thousands of older individuals who might otherwise have been left to the unscrupulous practices of employers with misguided perceptions of what it means to age.

Mr. Williams has a long history with the rights of middle-aged and older Americans. Prior to joining the EEOC, he was with the Labor Department, where he established his reputation as an expert on age discrimination litigation. When jurisdiction for the Age Discrimination in Employment Act was moved to the EEOC, it was Mr. Williams who greatly facilitated the transition. Without his knowledge and expertise, the EEOC would have faltered in its efforts to fight age discrimination.

Since age discrimination is the newest issue to come to the EEOC, there has been a tendency to treat it as the "weak sister," and not give it adequate attention and resources. Again, Mr. Williams has struggled to keep age issues up near the top of the agenda and to insure that these issues are a significant part of the EEOC's enforcement activities.

When the question of the EEOC's authority to investigate age complaints arose, it was Mr. Williams who prepared the arguments and insured that this necessary procedure was retained within the Agency's arsenal. When procedural and jurisdictional issues were questioned by the courts, it was Mr. Williams who prepared the briefs and successfully defended the Agency's role. When the Supreme Court recently reviewed the jurisdiction of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act over State and local public safety occupations, it was Mr. Williams who prepared the cases for the Court's review so it could make a reasoned judgment.

Mr. Williams never stood on a soapbox to draw attention to himself as a defender of America's aged. In fact, if you asked him he would probably say he is merely "doing his job." Indeed, he does his job and he does it well.

Doing his job well has meant that the more than 18,000 Americans who filed an age discrimination complaint last year stand at least a reasonable chance of receiving sound legal support if their case is brought by the EEOC. Doing his job means that the 28 million working Americans now

protected by the Age Discrimination in Employment Act have a hope that their legal rights are in competent hands.

Most importantly, all Americans can feel proud that somewhere deep within that Federal bureaucracy is a real person who cares. We will all grow old and because of that we should all be grateful that Mr. Dan Williams has been "just doing his job," and doing it well.●

GAYNELL WATERS LEADS THE ACTIVE LIFE

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I attended a birthday celebration Saturday for the hardest working woman I have ever known. Gaynell Waters is 84 years old today, and over 60 of her friends gathered in Blount County to give her a surprise birthday party. These friends included the county commissioners she works with, county judges, as well as some of the students she taught during her years in the Blount County education system.

Several political candidates were also in attendance. That is because Gaynell is the type of person a candidate needs to know. She has friends, and she has influence, and as I said, she is one of the hardest workers I know. When she sets her mind to a project, she does not stop until it is finished.

Her abilities are well known in Republican circles because she has been a member of the State executive committee for over 20 years. She has also been active, of course, on the county executive committee and the steering committee. In addition, she is a charter member of the Blount County Business and Professional Women's Club.

Lately, Gaynell has lent her talents to the Blount County Commission. She was the first woman elected to the commission, and has since been re-elected. Her past vocation gives her a leg up on the competition. Having spent over 40 years in the school system, she knows more voters better than any of the opposition. As she says, she has three generations of people she taught voting for her.

At 84 years old it is not unusual for a person to have a cane. Even someone as active as Gaynell has one. But with her the cane is more a conversation piece than a necessity. It is an antique with a flask inside. Inside the cane, Gaynell says jokingly, she keeps her "snake bite medicine."

It is a real pleasure to see someone staying so active and involved after 84 years. Gaynell Waters is an inspiration

to the young and old alike. She serves as an example that, in retirement, one does not necessarily have to retire from the active life. She offers a model we should all hope to follow.●

NATIONAL THEATRE WEEK

HON. BILL GREEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite my colleagues to join with me in celebrating National Theatre Week this June 3 through June 9. This week celebrates the 300 years of theatrical entertainment in America.

I am bringing this to the attention of my distinguished colleagues in order to address the large role the legitimate theatre has played in the everyday life of our country and to urge you to support legislation creating a yearly National Theatre Week. Many of our larger cities already know the large impact and important role the stage plays. What is not known is what part the theatre has played in the growth of America.

It is a fact that, during his lifetime, George Washington was an avid supporter of the theatre, so much so that his support brought about the repeal of earlier Continental Congress resolutions of October 1778 banning theatre altogether. The purpose was to prepare Americans for a period of hardship and austerity, but the resolutions failed miserably. In fact, more theatrical activity was engaged in than ever before. The performances may have been illegal; however, they boosted the morale of the troops and of the citizenry.

It has been my pleasure to introduce the commemorative legislation for the last 2 years. Again, this year, I shall be introducing a House joint resolution to commemorate National Theatre Week beginning the week of June 2, 1983, and I invite my colleagues to cosponsor it as they have in the past.●

H.R. 5167

HON. BYRON L. DORGAN

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I voted against H.R. 5167, the fiscal year 1985 defense authorization bill, in the House of Representatives because I felt that the proposal provided for increased spending that was simply out of line.

I support a strong defense for this country. I do not trust the Soviets, and I do not minimize the threat they pose to the free world. We live in an unstable world, and I think it is important

that we develop and maintain a strong military program.

However, throwing money at defense is no more effective than throwing money at domestic programs. In both cases, a lot of the taxpayers' money is wasted. We need wise and careful investments in defense programs that work and programs that strengthen this country.

The defense budget that the President proposed to the U.S. Congress gives a green light to virtually every gold-plated weapons scheme that the generals and admirals have come up with. I want to see careful investments in readiness and in operations and maintenance so that our conventional forces are strong and prepared. I would also want to see more careful review of major weapons programs that are selected, both from the standpoint of the security they offer and at the cost.

In short, I think the spending proposal in H.R. 5167 was out of line. At a time when we have burgeoning Federal deficits, we can ill afford to be throwing money at defense in a way that wastes tens of billions of dollars. There is a big difference between spending that makes America strong, and spending that makes some defense contractors rich. Unfortunately, this bill does not understand that distinction. For that reason, I have voted against the proposal.●

TRIBUTE TO R.T. KIRKPATRICK

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct honor to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. Congress the outstanding achievements of Mr. Richard T. Kirkpatrick. Mr. Kirkpatrick, who is the chief operating officer and executive vice president of Luden's, Inc., will be honored by B'nai B'rith International at a testimonial dinner June 18, as the recipient of the American Traditions Award.

All the funds raised from this important event will be used to benefit the network of youth service programs sponsored by B'nai B'rith. This tribute, on behalf of Mr. Kirkpatrick, acknowledges all of the many good works he has performed over the years and all the efforts he has made on behalf of others. This award is being presented to Dick Kirkpatrick for his extensive civic contributions to Reading and Berks County, PA, and his noteworthy leadership in the business community.

Mr. Kirkpatrick was born in Berks County. He is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce. He

is married to the former Mary Ann Analavage and he has four children—Deborah, Denise, Richard, Jr., and Robert. He has worked at Luden's, Inc., since 1960 and became vice president of finance in September 1970. In 1978, he was appointed to his present position, chief operating officer and executive vice president. He is responsible for over 1,000 employees and his duties also include involvement with financial/marketing planning issues for the main plant in Reading and the Queen Anne Candy Co. in Hammond, IN.

Dick Kirkpatrick is on the board of directors of the Berks County Chamber of Commerce, the board of directors of the Manufacturers Association of Berks County, a member of the President's Council of Albright College, a member of the board of directors of the Chocolate Manufacturers Association, and former president of St. Joseph's Hospital Development Corp. Mr. H.O. "Mike" Beaver, Jr., retired chairman of the board of Carpenter Technology and a former recipient of the American Traditions Award, will be the dinner chairman on the 18th and will present this award to Mr. Kirkpatrick.

Dick Kirkpatrick personifies every sense of the meaning of the word "humanitarian" and he exemplifies what we all know of the words friendship and brotherhood. Through his love and respect for life and humanity he has affected the world and our community for our betterment and added an unbounded degree of hope and good will. It is indeed my pleasure to bring Dick Kirkpatrick's outstanding accomplishments to your attention. I know that my colleagues will join me in congratulating this exceptional American, my good friend, Dick Kirkpatrick.●

TRIBUTE TO CARROLL BUTLER COOK, JR.

HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, on February 20 a prominent businessman of great esteem in my home district passed away. Carroll Butler Cook, Jr., was a community leader of great initiative and success, providing an outstanding example of resource and accomplishment for all who knew him.

Carroll was president of Artz & Cook, Sacramento's oldest real estate firm, which his father before him had founded. With his father, Carroll was one of the founders of Sacramento Savings & Loan and along with his

brothers founded Pacific Savings & Loan in Hawaii. Carroll himself was founder and president of the California Real Estate Credit Union and was a board member of El Dorado Savings & Loan. He was a member of the Theta Chi Fraternity, the 20/30 Club, and the Sutter Club, as well as a member of several prestigious golf clubs.

Carroll attended Sacramento High School and Sacramento City College, earning a bachelor of arts degree in economics at the University of California, Berkeley. He employed this education in the promotion and nurture of his community's financial growth and overall well-being.

For those who knew him, Carroll has forever earned a place in our hearts and our memories. Our prayers and thoughts go out to his wife Frances, his sons Robert A. and Carroll III, his mother Mrs. Carroll A., his brothers William, George, and Robert, his sister Margaret Leary, his grandchildren, and one great-grandchild. I am proud to pay tribute to this exceptional man, Carroll Butler Cook, Jr.●

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. MICKEY LELAND

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. LELAND. Mr. Speaker, on June 6, 1984, I was unable to be here in Washington because of a serious illness in my immediate family. I am sorry that I was not present to debate the Agriculture appropriation bill which includes provisions for child nutrition programs and the food stamp program. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.●

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION'S SERVICE CORPS OF RETIRED EXECUTIVES (SCORE)

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, 1984 marks the 20th anniversary of the Small Business Administration's Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE). This year, 12,000 SCORE volunteers celebrate their history as volunteer small business counselors. In these 20 years, over 1,200,000 clients have received free management counseling.

Beginning in Boston, SCORE now has 402 chapters across the Nation. In 1969, as a complement to SCORE's counseling services, the Active Corps

of Executives (ACE) was founded. Today, ACE members account for about one-fourth of SCORE's roster.

Together, the retired and employed membership offer to the small businesses of America an accumulation of experience measured in hundreds of thousands of years. The range of expertise covers literally every aspect of business from planning to profit.

SCORE members are dedicated to their program of offering free counseling to small business people. It is not unusual for SCORE members to donate 20 or more hours of their time per week. There are some members in their 80's who, for 10 or more years, have been serving 40 hours a week at their local SCORE chapter office.

SCORE has its greatest effect on clients in one-on-one counseling, which is ordinarily the most costly form of management assistance. For many others, attending "Pre-Business Workshops" helps them to start off on the right foot.

The Small Business Administration, which sponsors SCORE, affirms the country's debt to these men and women who selflessly offer their wisdom, talents, and time.

It is most appropriate as the volunteers of the SCORE program mark their 20th anniversary that we commend them for their remarkable dedication and service to the Nation's small businesses.●

CONGRATULATIONS STEVE TALBOTT

HON. MARY ROSE OAKAR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Speaker, Stephen Talbott is an outstanding journalist with the Plain Dealer, OH's largest newspaper.

On June 6, he will receive the prestigious consumer journalism award presented by the National Press Club and \$1,000 from the National Press Foundation in recognition of his excellent investigative reports that uncovered the practice of mortgage assumption overcharging by lender institutions.

His reports, which began in February 1983, revealed that local lenders had overcharged consumers thousands of dollars on loans that were sold to the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac), a congressionally chartered corporation. After reading the Talbott reports, I called on Freddie Mac to implement a national review process; 8 months after the review process was established, more

than \$1.5 million has been refunded to consumers nationally. However, there is more work to be done and more refunds to be made.

Most recently, the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae) the largest supplier of home mortgage funds, implemented an assumption fee review process at my request.

Thanks to Steve Talbott, mortgage assumption overcharging was uncovered and thousands of consumers will receive refunds. Steve Talbott deserves the praise of his colleagues, the appreciation of consumers, and our commendation.

I congratulate Steve Talbott for a job well done.●

NETWORKS' ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN VOTERS

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the 28 Democratic Members from California wrote to the network news presidents of ABC, NBC, and CBS asking them to refrain from making election-day projections during California's primary on June 5.

Basically, all three networks have responded with the same message: They, ABC, NBC and CBS, do not make projections in any given State prior to the polls closing in that State.

It has been my experience that this is just not the case. The networks' behavior has been well documented to demonstrate the opposite of their stated policy. They have made projections prior to the polls closing in numerous States during this primary and caucus season. The networks did so on super Tuesday, they did so during the New York primary, they did so during the Pennsylvania primary, and they did so in Iowa before the caucus voting had even started.

By making these election-day projections, the networks are sending a message to the voters that their votes do not count. This message clearly affects voter turnout among those voters who have to work all day and are only able to vote after work.

Today, I would like to submit a letter from Hon. Ralph Munro, Secretary of State, Washington, in support of our delegation's letter to the networks. Mr. Munro makes some salient points on the networks' attitude toward American voters. He also highlights the networks' disregard for the damaging effects that projections have on voters and the electoral process.

The letter follows:

RALPH MUNRO,
SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, WA, June 1, 1984.
The Hon. DON EDWARDS,
Rayburn House Office Building, Room 2307,
Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE EDWARDS: I want to take this opportunity to wish you success in your efforts to have the three major television networks refrain from projecting the winners in California's Primary until after the polls close. Those of us in the West have been waging this battle since 1980 and we are convinced that voluntary restraint is undoubtedly the best solution to this problem. During our discussions with network officials, both in my capacity as Washington's Secretary of State and as a representative of the National Association of Secretaries of State, I have urged them to take this course of action. I know Congress has also requested that the networks police themselves in this area.

Unfortunately, we have found the networks unsympathetic to this approach and unwilling to consider regulating themselves. We have invariably found that the three major networks refuse to admit that a problem exists and continue to maintain that they simply don't ever project winners based on the results of the exit polls. We have even had network executives tell us that (1) there is no evidence that knowing the result of an election has any detrimental effect on voter turnout, and (2) any voter who would be so deterred probably isn't a very knowledgeable or dedicated voter in the first place!

In any event, we do remain hopeful that the networks will change their minds and decide to become good citizens, and hopefully your efforts will assist them in arriving at that position. In the words of my good friend March Fong Eu, it would, indeed, "make our day" if those of us involved in the administration of elections could once again honestly tell each voter—even those blue collar workers who traditionally vote late in the day—that their vote really does count.

Sincerely,

RALPH MUNRO,
Secretary of State.●

HONORING ANITA M. PAOLI

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and gratitude for the dedication and hard work of one of my constituents, Miss Anita M. Paoli. Miss Paoli, a registered nurse, is a prime example of the spirit of contribution and community interest of which all Americans should be proud. As assistant adjutant at the Holyoke Soldiers' Home, Miss Paoli's record of service to residents in the First District of Massachusetts is certainly impressive.

Miss Anita M. Paoli joined the staff at the Holyoke Soldiers' Home in its opening day in 1952 and has risen from staff nurse to head nurse to hos-

pital supervisor and finally to her present position of assistant adjutant. Prior to her employment at the soldiers' home 32 years ago, Miss Paoli served in the U.S. Army Nurse Corps and also practiced her nursing expertise at the Providence Hospital in Holyoke, MA. Miss Paoli has devoted much of her life caring for the ill and eventually coordinating many programs within the soldiers' home which aided the staff and patients at this facility. She has continually strived toward expanding and improving various plans at the home. Certainly, an undertaking only the most dedicated and ambitious person would initiate. Not only has she endured the years of labor but has seen tremendous results and experienced much success for her tireless endeavors.

Nursing is a demanding occupation. Constant and rigorous work are standard and unavoidable. Only a certain breed of individuals have the strength of character to accept such a challenging career. Miss Paoli, however, has exhibited to us her charitable nature, and we, as residents of the First District, are indebted to Miss Paoli to an extent beyond measure.

In June of this year, Miss Paoli will be retiring from her post as the assistant adjutant at the Holyoke Soldiers' Home, but her selfless efforts will not be forgotten. Miss Paoli is truly a giving person whose 32 years of duty at the Holyoke Soldiers' Home will be an example to nurses of the future. Her retirement is well earned but her supervision and implementation of programs in all areas at the State hospital will flourish in the years to come all because of one woman's perseverance and devotion toward the well-being of others.●

THE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT OF WILLIAM H. SUNDAY

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1984

● Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to bring to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding achievement of Mr. William H. Sunday, a member of Boy Scout Troop 117 and the son of Arlan and Patricia Sunday.

Mr. Sunday is a fine young man who recently passed his Eagle Scout Board of Review for advancement to the rank of Eagle Scout. This is indeed a most important achievement and I am very glad to commend and congratulate him before all of you here today. A Court of Honor will be held on June 16 to honor Mr. William H. Sunday for attaining the rank of Eagle Scout.

This rank is not easily achieved and is awarded only to those few who have excelled in many dimensions of citizenship. It is a testimony to Mr. Sunday's character, integrity, intelligence, perseverance, dedication, and loyalty to Scouting and our Nation.

I am very happy for William and I know he must be extremely proud of this noteworthy and important award. It is young people such as William who renew our confidence in the next generation to carry the mantle of leadership in building a better America. I know all my colleagues will join me in congratulating William and in wishing him the very best in all his future endeavors. Undoubtedly, William Sunday will serve as an inspiration to other young Americans.●

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Any changes in committee scheduling will be indicated by placement of an asterisk to the left of the name of the unit conducting such meetings.

Meetings scheduled for Thursday, June 7, 1984, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

JUNE 8

9:30 a.m.

Finance

International Trade Subcommittee

To hold hearings to examine the current state and future prospects of the U.S. steel industry.

SD-215

10:00 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Consumer Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2650, to revise certain procedures of the Consumer Product Safety Commission to allow for a more expeditious recall of toys and other articles intended for use by children that present a substantial risk of injury.

SR-253

JUNE 11

10:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works

Toxic Substances and Environmental Oversight Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 2649, authorizing funds through fiscal year 1989 for the Environmental Protection Agency to develop regulations for monitoring of unregulated contaminants now found in surface and underground drinking water sources.

SD-406

Labor and Human Resources

Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Subcommittee

To hold hearings to explore the scope of drug abuse among women.

SR-325

JUNE 12

9:00 a.m.

Judiciary

Constitution Subcommittee

To hold hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 167, proposing a constitutional amendment, to proclaim the English language the official language of the United States.

SR-418

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

District of Columbia Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1985 for the District of Columbia court system.

SD-138

Energy and Natural Resources

Public Lands and Reserved Water Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings to review Federal land management activities in northern Nevada on "checkerboard" lands.

SD-366

Governmental Affairs

Information Management and Regulatory Affairs Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2127, proposed Federal Advisory Committee Act Amendments of 1983.

SD-342

Judiciary

Security and Terrorism Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2469, to establish a new Federal offense of terrorism, and S. 2470, to provide for the national security by allowing access to certain Federal criminal history records.

SD-226

Joint Economic

To hold hearings on fair taxation issues and the administration's proposed tax cuts.

SR-428A

2:00 p.m.

Joint Economic

Trade, Productivity, and Economic Growth Subcommittee

To resume hearings to discuss U.S. policy toward the international trading system.

SD-342

JUNE 13

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SR-253

Judiciary

Criminal Law Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2669, to eliminate the provisions of the Federal criminal code allowing for one-party consent to certain interceptions of wire and oral communications by requiring consent by all the parties.

SD-106

Labor and Human Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-430

10:00 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

Environment and Public Works

Water Resources Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed Soil Conservation Service small watershed projects.

SD-406

Judiciary

Security and Terrorism Subcommittee

To resume hearings on proposals to curb domestic and international terrorism, including S. 2623, S. 2624, S. 2625, and S. 2626.

SD-226

Veterans' Affairs

To hold oversight hearings to review the sharing agreement between the Veterans' Administration and the Department of Defense, and to discuss the Veterans' Administration's supply and procurement policy.

SR-418

Joint Economic

Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposals to broaden the Federal tax base and reduce tax rates.

2218 Rayburn Building

2:00 p.m.

Judiciary

To hold hearings on pending nominations.

SD-226

JUNE 14

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation

Surface Transportation Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review government and community programs to combat drunk driving.

SR-253

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee

To resume oversight hearings on international competitive effects of the high value of the U.S. dollar.

SD-538

Energy and Natural Resources

Energy Conservation and Supply Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2370, to provide for the distribution of certain funds collected by the Department of Energy in settlement of overcharges resulting from alleged pricing and allocation violations under the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1973, to establish the petroleum overcharge restitution fund for those funds in

excess of direct restitution, and to authorize funds for fiscal years 1985-89 for certain energy conservation and assistance programs; to be followed by oversight hearings on the implementation of the weatherization program of the Department of Energy.

SD-366

Judiciary

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-226

Joint Economic

Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy Subcommittee

To continue hearings on proposals to broaden the Federal tax base and reduce tax rates.

2203 Rayburn Building

2:00 p.m.

*Conferees

On S. 979, to improve the enforcement of export administration laws.

S-207, Capitol

JUNE 18

9:30 a.m.

Finance

Oversight of the Internal Revenue Service Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on the impact of the Federal tax system on basic industry, investment industry, and service industries.

SD-215

2:00 p.m.

Labor and Human Resources

To hold hearings on S. 2687, proposed Youth Employment Opportunity Wage Act.

SD-430

JUNE 19

9:30 a.m.

Labor and Human Resources

To resume oversight hearings on certain allegations involving the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

SD-430

10:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-406

Finance

To hold hearings on S. 1915, to repeal the capital gains tax on disposition of investments in U.S. real property by foreign citizens.

SD-215

Judiciary

Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on Congressional access to reliable agency information.

SD-226

JUNE 20

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation

Surface Transportation Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review the proposed sale of Conrail by the Department of Transportation.

SR-253

Labor and Human Resources

To continue oversight hearings on certain allegations involving the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

SD-430

10:00 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

Finance

Health Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings to review a General Accounting Office study on program changes in the maternal and child health block grant program.

SD-215

Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to provide for veterans' compensation.

SR-418

JUNE 21

9:00 a.m.

Office of Technology Assessment

The Board, to meet on pending business matters.

EF-100, Capitol

9:30 a.m.

Finance

Energy and Agricultural Taxation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 463, to limit the amount of severance taxes imposed by States on oil, natural gas, and coal.

SD-215

Labor and Human Resources

To hold hearings on S. 2501, the substance of S. 2502, and S. 2503, bills to provide for greater use of competitive medical plans and preferred provider arrangements.

SD-430

JUNE 22

10:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works

To hold hearings on proposals for establishing appropriate levels of lead in gasoline, including S. 2609.

SD-406

2:00 p.m.

Finance

Health Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on medicare home health care benefits and the difficulty interpreting the intermittent care rule.

SD-215

JUNE 26

10:00 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Energy Conservation and Supply Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on Outer Continental Shelf leasing activities.

SD-366

Environment and Public Works

Environmental Pollution Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on the implementation of the Lacey Act amendments (Public Law 97-79), to control international trade in wildlife.

SD-406

Labor and Human Resources

Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearing on the status of college athletic programs.

SD-430

JUNE 27

10:00 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Merchant Marine Subcommittee

To hold hearings on Senate Concurrent Resolution 56, to express the sense of the Congress in opposition to further expansion of cargo preference requirements.

SR-253

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

Judiciary

Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittee

To resume oversight hearings on congressional access to reliable agency information.

SD-562

Labor and Human Resources

Handicapped Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review recommendations to improve services for the mentally retarded.

SR-428A

JUNE 28

10:00 a.m.

Labor and Human Resources

Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2561, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1985 to facilitate the transfer of computerized training programs of the Federal Government to the private sector and to State and local governments for use in manpower training programs.

SD-430

JULY 10

9:30 a.m.

Labor and Human Resources

To hold hearings on the practice of defensive medicine by the medical profession in an effort to avoid malpractice suits and its effects on the quality of medical care.

SD-430

JULY 26

9:30 a.m.

Finance

Taxation and Debt Management Subcommittee

To hold hearings to discuss whether tax law should encourage employers to provide certain fringe benefits.

SD-215

JULY 27

9:30 a.m.

Finance

Taxation and Debt Management Subcommittee

To continue hearings to discuss whether tax law should encourage employers to provide certain fringe benefits.

SD-215

JULY 30

9:30 a.m.

Finance

Taxation and Debt Management Subcommittee

To resume hearings to discuss whether tax law should encourage employers to provide certain fringe benefits.

SD-215

SEPTEMBER 18

9:30 a.m.

Labor and Human Resources

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Labor Subcommittee

To resume oversight hearings to examine the scope and impact of certain occupational diseases.

SD-430

11:00 a.m.

Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings to review the legislative priorities of the American Legion.

SR-325

CANCELLATIONS

JUNE 7

9:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works

June 6, 1984

Environmental Pollution Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 978, to provide financial assistance to States for wetlands conservation, focusing on committee amendments No. 2807, proposed Wildlife and the Parks Act.

SD-406

JUNE 8

10:00 a.m.

Judiciary

Juvenile Justice Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on sexual exploitation of children.

SD-226